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AN

ESTIMATE

OF THE

MANNERS

AND

PRINCIPLES

OF THE

TIMES.

By Dr. BROWN,

AUTHOR of the ESSAYS on Lord SHAFTSBURY's CHARACTERISTICS, &c.

Quamvis Pontica Pinus,
Silvæ Filia nobilis,
Jactes & Genus & Nomen inutile.

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PART III.

Of the Sources of theſe Manners and Principles.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE *leading Principles*, which run thro' the following *Eſtimate*, make a ſmall part of a much more extenſive work, planned on the general ſubject of *Manners*. In the mean time, the writer thought it not amiſs to offer his ſentiments on the preſent ſtate and ſituation of his country, at a *Criſis* ſo important and alarming.

17-160

PART

PART I.

A DELINEATION OF The RULING MANNERS and PRINCIPLES.

SECT. I.

THE DESIGN.

SUPERFICIAL, though zealous, obſervers, think they ſee the ſource of all our public miſcarriages in the particular and accidental miſconduct of individuals. This is not much to be wondered at, becauſe it is ſo eaſy a ſolution.

THIS pretence, too, is plauſibly urged upon the people by profligate ſcriblers, who find their account in it. It is a ſort of compliment paid the public, to perſuade them, that they have no ſhare in the production of theſe national misfortunes.

BUT a candid and mature conſideration will convince us, that the malady lies deeper than what is

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commonly ſuſpected: and, on impartial enquiry, it will probably be found ſpringing, not from varying and incidental, but from permanent and eſtabliſhed cauſes.

It is the obſervation of the greateſt of political writers, that "it is by no means fortune that rules the world: "for this we may appeal to the *Romans*, who had a "long ſeries of proſperities, when they acted upon a "certain plan; and an uninterrupted courſe of misfor- "tunes, when they conducted themſelves upon another. "There are general cauſes, natural or moral, which "operate in every ſtate; which raiſe, ſupport, or over- "turn it *."

AMONG all theſe various cauſes, none perhaps ſo much contributes to raiſe or ſink a nation, as the manners and principles of its people. But as there never was any declining nation, which had not cauſes of declenſion peculiar to itſelf, ſo it will require a minute inveſtigation into the leading manners and principles of the preſent times, to throw a juſt light on the peculiar cauſes of our calamitous ſituation.

To delineate theſe manners and principles without aggravation or weakneſs, to unravel their effects on the public ſtate and welfare, and to trace them to their real though diſtant ſources, is indeed a taſk of equal difficulty and importance.

IT may be neceſſary therefore to apologiſe even for the attempt; as being ſuppoſed to lie beyond the ſphere of him who makes it. To this it can only be replied, that a common eye may *poſſibly* diſcover a lurking rock or ſand, while the able and experienced mariners overlook the danger, through their attention to the helm, the ſails, or rigging.

* "Ce n'eſt pas la fortune qui domine le monde: on peut le "demander aux Romains, qui eurent une ſuite continuelle des "proſperites quand ils ſe gouvernerent ſur un certain plan, & "une ſuite non interrompue de revers lors qu'ils ſe conduiſirent "ſur un autre. Il y a des cauſes generales, ſoit morales, ſoit "phyſiques, qui agiſſent dans chaque monarchie, l'elevent, la "maintiennent, ou la precipitent."----GRANDEUR, &c. DES ROMAINS, c. 18.

HE

He will be much miſtaken, who expects to find here a vein of undiſtinguiſhing and licentious ſatire. To rail at the times at large, can ſerve no good purpoſe; and generally ariſeth from a want of knowledge or a want of honeſty. There never was an age or nation that had not virtues and vices peculiar to itſelf: And in ſome reſpects, perhaps, there is no time nor country delivered down to us in ſtory, in which a wiſe man would ſo much wiſh to have lived, as in our own.

Notwithstanding this, our ſituation ſeems moſt dangerous: We are rolling to the brink of a precipice that muſt deſtroy us.

At ſuch a juncture, to hold up a true mirror to the public, and let the nation ſee *themſelves* as the authors of their own misfortunes, cannot be a very popular deſign. But as the writer is not ſollicitous about private conſequences, he can with the greater ſecurity adopt the words of an honeſt and ſenſible man.

"Most commonly, ſuch as palliate evils, and re-
"preſent the ſtate of things in a ſounder condition
"than truly they are, do thereby conſult beſt for them-
"ſelves, and better recommend their own buſineſs and
"pretenſions in the world: But he who, to the ut-
"moſt of his ſkill and power, ſpeaks the truth, where
"the good of his king and country are concerned, will
"be moſt eſteemed by perſons of virtue and wiſdom:
"And to the favour and protection of ſuch, theſe pa-
"pers are committed *."

Sect. II.

Of the Spirit of Liberty.

Before we enumerate the concurrent cauſes of our preſent misfortunes and decline, let us, by way of contraſt, muſter the few remaining virtues we have left; to which, in part, it is owing, that our misfortunes are not heavier, and our decline more rapid.

* Dr. Davenant on trade.

AMONG theſe, the firſt and moſt important, is the ſpirit of liberty. This, happily, ſtill ſubſiſts among us: Not indeed in its genuine vigour, for then it would work its genuine effects. Yet, that the love of liberty is not extinguiſhed, appears from the *united voice* of a *divided people*. It ſtill animates their converſation, and invigorates their addreſſes; tho' in their conduct it appears no more. But it is remarkable, that in proportion as this ſpirit hath grown weak in *deeds*, it hath gained ſtrength in *words*, and of late run out, into unbounded licenſe.

THIS, however, appears beyond a doubt: that we all wiſh to continue free; tho' we have not the virtue to ſecure our freedom. The ſpirit of liberty is now ſtruggling with the *manners* and *principles*, as formerly it ſtruggled with the *tyrants* of the time. But the danger is now greater, becauſe the enemy is *within*, working ſecretly and ſecurely, and deſtroying all thoſe *internal powers*, from which alone an effectual oppoſition can ariſe.

WHEREVER this Spirit of Liberty ſubſiſts in its full vigour, the vigilance and power of impotent governors are vain: A Nation can neither be ſurpriſed nor compelled into ſlavery: When this is extinguiſhed, neither the virtue nor vigilance of Patriots can ſave it. In the reign of JAMES the ſecond, *Great Britain* was free, tho' a deſpotick prince was on the throne: At the time when CÆSAR fell, *Rome* was ſtill enſlaved, tho' the tyrant was no more.

THIS great Spirit hath produced more full and compleat effects in our own country, than in any known nation that ever was upon earth. It appears, indeed, from a concurrence of facts, too large to be produced here, that whereas it hath been ingrafted by the arts of policy in other countries, it ſhoots up here as from its natural climate, ſtock and ſoil. From this diſtinction, if laid in nature, two or three conſequences will fairly ariſe. It's effects muſt, of courſe, be more vigorous and full. It's deſtruction, by external violence, will probably be no more than temporary. It's chief danger muſt ariſe from ſuch cauſes, as may poiſon the root, or attack, and deſtroy the natural Spirit itſelf: Theſe muſt

muſt be ſuch cauſes, as can ſteal upon, and ſubdue the *Mind:* that is, they muſt be "ſome degeneracy or "corruption of the manners and principles of the peo-"ple."

Sect. III.

Of the Spirit of Humanity.

Let us now trace the Spirit of Liberty through ſuch of its effects, as are not yet deſtroyed by oppoſite principles and manners.

The firſt that occurs, is *Humanity.* By this, is not meant that ſmoothneſs and refined poliſh of external manners, by which the preſent age affects to be diſtinguiſhed: for this, it is apprehended, will belong to another claſs. By *Humanity*, therefore, is meant, "that "pity for diſtreſs, that moderation in limiting puniſh-"ments by their proper ends and meaſures, by which "this nation hath always been diſtinguiſhed."

The lenity of our laws in capital caſes; our compaſſion for convicted criminals; even the general humanity of our highwaymen and robbers, compared with thoſe of other countries; theſe are concurrent proofs, that the ſpirit of humanity is natural to our nation.

The many noble foundations for the relief of the miſerable and the friendleſs; the large annual ſupplies from voluntary charities to theſe foundations; the frequent and generous aſſiſtance given to the unfortunate, who cannot be admitted into theſe foundations; all theſe are ſuch indiſputable proofs of a national humanity, as it were the higheſt injuſtice not to acknowledge and applaud.

Sect. IV.

Of the civil Adminiſtration of Juſtice.

Another virtue, and of the higheſt conſequence, as it regards the immediate and private happineſs of in-

dividuals, yet left among us, is the pure adminiſtration of juſtice, as it regards private property.

MANY cauſes may be aſſigned, for the continuance of this public bleſſing. The ſpirit of liberty and humanity beget a ſpirit of equity, where no contrary paſſion interferes: The ſpirit of commerce, now predominant, begets a kind of regulated ſelfiſhneſs, which tends at once to the increaſe and preſervation of property. The difficulty of corrupting juries under the checks of their preſent eſtabliſhment, in moſt caſes prevents the very attempt. And the long continued example of a great perſon on the ſeat of equity, hath diffuſed an uncorrupt ſpirit through the inferior courts, and will ſhine to the lateſt poſterity.

SECT. V.

Of the Ruling Manners of the Times.

HAVING made this prefatory eſtimate of thoſe remaining manners which may demand eſteem and applauſe, let us now proceed to the ruling manners of the times; from which this age and nation derives its preſent and particular complexion.

IT may be neceſſary to remark, that this deſigned eſtimate extends not to the comparative excellence of manners and principles, conſidered in every view, and in all their variety of near and remote effects. It relates not to the immediate happineſs or miſery, which individuals, families, or nations, may derive from the force of prevailing principles and manners. Theſe effects branch out into an infinity of intricate combinations, which cannot be comprehended in the preſent, but will make a material part of ſome future enquiry. This eſtimate, therefore, confines itſelf to ſuch conſequences only, as affect the *duration* of the *public ſtate*: So that the leading queſtion will be, "How far the "preſent ruling manners and principles of this nation "may tend to its continuance or deſtruction."

IN conſequence of this reſtriction, the manners and principles of the common people will ſcarce find a place

in

in the account. For though the ſum total of a nation's immediate happineſs muſt ariſe, and be eſtimated, from the manners and principles of the whole; yet the manners and principles of thoſe who *lead*, not of thoſe who *are led*; of thoſe who *govern*, not of thoſe who *are governed*; of thoſe, in ſhort, who *make* laws or *execute* them, will ever determine the ſtrength or weakneſs, and therefore the continuance or diſſolution, of a ſtate.

For the blind force or weight of an ungoverned multitude can have no ſteady nor rational effect, unleſs ſome *leading mind* rouze it into action, and *point* it to its proper *end:* without this, it is either a *brute* and random *bolt*, or a *lifeleſs ball* ſleeping in the *cannon:* It depends on ſome ſuperior *intelligence*, to give it both *impulſe* and *direction*.

Indeed, were the *people* remarkably corrupt, they might properly make a part of this enquiry: But in moſt of thoſe important circumſtances to which this eſtimate refers, they are in general much more irreproachable than their ſuperiors in ſtation; eſpecially, if we except the lower ranks of thoſe who live in great towns. It will therefore be unneceſſary to mark the character of their principles or manners, unleſs where they appear evidently poiſoned by the example or other influence of the higher ranks in life.

Now the ſlighteſt obſervation, if attended with impartiality, may convince us, that the character of the manners of this age and nation, is by no means that of *abandoned wickedneſs* and *profligacy*. This degree of degeneracy, indeed, is often imputed to the times: But, to what times hath it *not* been imputed? Preſent objects are naturally magnified to the human eye, while remote ones, though larger in dimenſions, vaniſh into nothing. Hence the ſpeculative and virtuous, in every age, confining their views to their own period, have been apt to aggravate its manners into the higheſt degree of guilt; to *ſatyrize*, rather than *deſcribe*; to throw their reſpective times into one dark ſhade of *horror*, rather than mark their peculiar *colour* and *complexion:*

Here, a large field of compariſon and debate would open, were it neceſſary or even expedient to enter upon it.

it. We might caſt our eye upon the manners of ROME, CARTHAGE, and many other ſtates, in their laſt declining period; where we ſhould behold ſuch tragic ſcenes of cruelty, impiety, and oppreſſion, as would confound the moſt ſanguine advocate for the manners of antiquity. But, in truth, there can be no occaſion for this diſplay of *profligacy:* For if the previous eſtimate, already given, be juſt; if the ſpirit of *liberty*, *humanity*, and *equity*, be in a *certain degree* yet left among us, ſome of the moſt eſſential foundations of abandoned wickedneſs and profligacy can have no place: For theſe are *ſervility*, *cruelty*, and *oppreſſion*. How far we may be from this laſt period of degeneracy, it were preſumption to affirm: At preſent, it is certain, we are not arrived at it. Whenever this fatal time approaches, it will come diſtinguiſhed by its proper and peculiar characters; and whoever ſhall eſtimate ſuch times, will find himſelf under the ſame circumſtance with the great hiſtorian, who, in the profligate period of declining ROME, tells us he had nothing to relate, but "falſe accuſations, bloody proſcriptions, treacher-"ous friendſhips, and the deſtruction of the innocent*."

THIS, we may truly affirm, is far from the character of the manners of our times: which, on a fair examination, will probably appear to be that of a "*vain*, "*luxurious* and *ſelfiſh* EFFEMINACY."

THIS will be evident from a ſimple enumeration of acknowledged facts: many of them indeed in appearance, too trite to merit notice, and too trifling for rebuke; were they not, in their tendency, as fatal to the ſtability of a nation, as maxims and manners more apparently flagitious.

AS the firſt habits of infancy and youth commonly determine the character of the man, we might trace the effeminacy of modern manners, even to the unwholeſome warmth of a nurſery. As ſoon as the puny infant is ſuffered to peep from this fountain of *weakneſs* and diſeaſe, he is confirmed in the habits already con-

* "Sæva juſſa, continuas accuſationes, fallaces amicitias, per-"niciem innocentium." TACIT. ANNAL. l. iv.

tracted,

tracted, by a miſtaken tenderneſs and care. The "ſchool "boy's ſatchel, and ſhining morning-face," once the characteriſtic of the age itſelf, are now only to be ſeen among the ſons of villagers and peaſants; while the youth of quality and fortune is wrapt up from the wholeſome keenneſs of the air: And thus becomes incapable of induring the natural rigours of his own climate.

'Tis odds, indeed, but the prevalence of faſhion places him in ſome public ſchool, where the learned languages are taught: And, to do juſtice to the times, the moſt conſiderable among theſe ſeminaries were never more ably ſupplied than at preſent. But whatever be the maſter's ability, the ſcholar's can in general reach no farther than to *words*; this firſt ſtage of education, therefore, can only be preparatory to a higher; without which, the other is defeated of its purpoſe.

Here, then, lies an eſſential defect in modern education. The pupil is not carried on from *words* to *things*. The *Univerſities*, where the principles of *knowledge* ſhould be imbibed, are growing daily thinner of young men of quality and fortune. Inſtead of being initiated in *books*, where the wiſdom of ages lies repoſed, our untutored youth are carried into the *world*; where the ruling objects that catch the imagination, are the ſallies of folly or of vice.

Thus, like *plants* haſtily removed from their firſt bed, and expoſed to the inclemencies of an unwholeſome air, without the intervention of a higher and more enlarged *nurſery* where ſtronger ſhoots might be obtained, our riſing youth are checked in their *firſt growths*; and either *die away* into ignorance, or, at moſt, become *dwarfs* in knowledge.

But here, it muſt not be diſguiſed; that an abuſe, through time, hath inſenſibly crept upon the *Univerſities* themſelves, and greatly impaired their uſe and credit. The public fountains of inſtruction are at length dried up; and the *profeſſorſhips*, founded as the means of general inſtruction, degenerated into gainful *ſinecures*. Inſtead of theſe, where, by a proper choice, every department would naturally be filled with ability in its reſpective ſcience; the *private* lectures of *college-*

tutors

tutors have uſurped and occupied their place. Thus the great lines of knowledge are broken, and the fragments retailed at all adventures, by *every member* of a college who chuſeth to erect himſelf into a *profeſſor of every ſcience*. What can be the conſequence of this practice, but a *partial* and *ſuperficial inſtruction?* 'Tis true, there are in this ſphere, who would do honour to the higheſt academical ſtation: But what an acceſſion of luſtre, fame, and knowledge, would our univerſities receive, were theſe *few*, now confined to the narrow ſphere of *particular* colleges, ordained and *appointed* to *illuminate* the *whole?*

NEITHER would it reflect any diſhonour on our Univerſities, if the few young men of faſhion yet found there, were laid under the ſame reſtraints of moral and literary diſcipline with thoſe of inferior quality.

THE next error that preſents itſelf to obſervation, is that of ſending our ignorant youth abroad. A mind ſtored with taſte and knowledge, will indeed naturally refine that taſte, and increaſe that knowledge, by ſeeing and *judging* of foreign countries. For thus he acquires a large addition of new experiences and examples, which may confirm or rectify his prior obſervations. On the contrary, we may affirm, with truth, that no circumſtance in education can more ſurely tend to ſtrengthen effeminacy and ignorance, than the preſent premature, and indigeſted *travel*. For as the uninſtructed youth muſt needs meet with a variety of example, good and bad, vile and praiſe-worthy, as his manners are childiſh, and his judgment crude, he will naturally imbibe what is moſt conſentaneous with his puerile habits. Thus, while wiſdom and virtue can find no place in him, every foreign folly, effeminacy, or vice, meeting with a correſpondent ſoil, at once takes root and flouriſh.

BUT ſuppoſe him *not* of that rank or fortune, which may demand or admit of the grand tour; he is then brought up to *London*, and initiated in the pleaſures of the metropolis. Here then let us view him, inſpired with every faſhionable ambition; while we take an impartial eſtimate of thoſe amuſements, or rather employments,

ments, which attract the attention of the town, and form the genius and character of the preſent and riſing generation.

THE firſt and capital article of town-effeminacy is that of *dreſs*: which, in all its variety of modern exceſs and ridicule, is too low for ſerious animadverſion. Yet in this, muſt every man of every rank and age employ his mornings, who pretends to keep *good company*. The wiſeſt, the moſt virtuous, the moſt polite, if defective in theſe exterior and unmanly delicacies, are avoided as *low people*, whom *nobody knows*, and with whom one is *aſhamed to be ſeen*.

HOW would he have been derided in the days of ELIZABETH, when a great queen rode on horſeback to *St. Paul's*, who ſhould have foretold, that in leſs than two centuries no man of faſhion would croſs the ſtreet to dinner, without the effeminate covering and conveyance of an *eaſy chair*?

YET thus accoutred, the modern man of faſhion is *conveyed* to company. Wherever he goes, he meets the ſame falſe delicacy in all: Every circumſtance of modern uſe conſpires to ſooth him into the exceſs of effeminacy: Warm carpets are ſpread under his feet; warm hangings ſurround him; doors and windows, nicely jointed, prevent the leaſt rude encroachment of the external air.

VANITY lends her aid to this unmanly delicacy: Splendid furniture, a ſumptuous ſideboard, a long train of attendants, an elegant and coſtly entertainment, for which earth, air, and ſeas, are ranſacked, the moſt expenſive wines of the continent, the childiſh vagaries of a whimſical deſert, theſe are the ſupreme pride of the maſter, the admiration or envy of his gueſts.

LUXURY is not idle in her province, but ſhares with her ſiſter vanity, in the labours of the day. High ſoups and ſauces, every mode of foreign cookery that can quicken taſte, and ſpur the lagging appetite, is aſſiduouſly employed. The end of eating is not the allaying of natural hunger, but the gratification of ſordid and debaſing appetite. Hence the moſt inflaming foods, not thoſe which *nouriſh*, but thoſe which *irritate*, are adopted;

adopted; while the cool and temperate diets that purify the blood, are baniſhed to inferior tables. To this every man of taſte now aſpires, as to the true *ſçavoir vivre*.

Do you expect in theſe faſhionable meetings, to hear ſome point of morals, taſte in arts or literature, diſcourſed or canvaſſed? Alas! theſe are long ſince expelled from every modiſh aſſembly. To ſpeak anything that carries weight and importance, is an offence againſt good-breeding. The ſupreme elegance is, to trifle agreeably.

But as inſipidity of converſation is ſoon worn out, and as intemperance in wine is not of the character of refined luxury; ſo, to prevent the ſtagnation of folly, ſome awakening amuſement is naturally ſought for.

We read in ancient ſtory, that in the moſt poliſhed court of the moſt refined period, a reward was proclaimed to him, who ſhould invent a new pleaſure. This may juſtly be ſtyled, the laſt wretched effort of bungling and deſpairing luxury.—The great deſideratum is at length found: A pleaſure which abſorbs the whole man; a pleaſure in which there is no ſatiety; which cloys not by uſe, but gains new vigour from enjoyment. The vulgar only can need to be informed, that the pleaſure here alluded to, is that of Gaming.

But as the preſent increaſing ſplendor of dreſs, equipage, furniture, entertainments, is enormouſly expenſive: what can ſo naturally create a luſt of gold, as the vain ambition of equality or ſuperiority in this ſyſtem of effeminate ſhew? Hence, *rapacity* attends *profuſion*; till the ſpirit of avarice glides ſecretly into the ſoul; and impels the man of faſhion to that *gaming*, as a *trade*, which he had before adopted as a *pleaſure*. But as we read that Cæsar's luſt was only the *ſervant* of his *ambition*, ſo this luſt of gold is no more than the *handmaid* to vain *effeminacy*.

Thus we ſee *gaming* eſtabliſhed on the two great pillars of *ſelf-intereſt* and *pleaſure*: and on theſe foundations ſeem to reſt the midnight riot and diſſipation of modern aſſemblies.

But tho' gaming be now the capital pleaſure, as well as trade, of moſt men of faſhion; yet other incidental

dental amuſements intervene at vacant times. Neither can it be affirmed with truth, that all are immerſed in this faſhionable folly. Nor let any one imagine that he ſtands clear of the ruling manners of the times, becauſe not infected with the rage of *gaming*. Let us then proceed to examine the other reigning amuſements of the age; and ſee how far they are, or are not, ſubject to the charge of *unmanly* delicacy.

A KNOWLEDGE of books, a taſte in arts, a proficiency in ſcience, was formerly regarded as a proper qualification in a man of faſhion. The annals of our country have tranſmitted to us the name and memory of men, as eminent in learning and taſte, as in rank and fortune. It will not, I preſume, be regarded as any kind of ſatire on the preſent age, to ſay, that among the higher ranks, this literary ſpirit is generally vaniſhed. *Reading* is now ſunk at beſt into a morning's *amuſement*; till the important hour of dreſs comes on. Books are no longer regarded as the repoſitaries of taſte and knowledge; but are rather laid hold of, as a gentle relaxation from the tedious round of pleaſure.

BUT what kind of reading muſt *that* be, which can attract or entertain the languid morning-ſpirit of modern effeminacy? Any, indeed, that can but prevent the unſupportable toil of *thinking*; that may ſerve as a preparatory *whet* of *indolence*, to the approaching pleaſures of the day. Thus it comes to paſs, that weekly eſſays, amatory plays and novels, political pamphlets, and books that revile religion; together with a general *haſh* of theſe, ſerved up in ſome *monthly meſs* of *dulneſs*, are the meagre *literary diet* of town and country.

TRUE it is, that amidſt this general defect of taſte, and learning, there is *a writer*, whoſe force of genius, and extent of knowledge might almoſt redeem the character of the times. But that ſuperiority which attracts the reverence of the *few*, excites the envy and hatred of the *many*: And while his works are tranſlated and admired *abroad*, and patronized at home, by thoſe who are moſt diſtinguiſhed in genius, taſte, and learning, himſelf is abuſed, and his friends inſulted for his ſake, by thoſe who never read his writings, or, if they did,

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could neither *taſte* nor *comprehend* them: while every little aſpiring or deſpairing ſcribler eyes him as *Caſſius* did CÆSAR, and whiſpers to his fellow,

> Why, man, he doth beſtride the narrow world
> Like a *Coloſſus*; and we petty men
> Walk under his huge legs; and peep about,
> To find ourſelves diſhonourable graves.

No wonder then, if the malice of the lilliputian tribe be bent againſt this dreaded GULLIVER; if they attack him with *poiſoned arrows*, whom they cannot ſubdue by *ſtrength*.

BUT in juſtice to the preſent age, another obſervation muſt be added. As exceſs of delicacy hath deſtroyed our *force of taſte*, it hath at leaſt had one laudable effect; for along with this, it hath carried off our *groſſneſs* of *obſcenity*. A ſtrong characteriſtic, this, of the manners of the times: The untractable ſpirit of lewdneſs is ſunk into gentle gallantry, and *obſcenity* itſelf is grown *effeminate*.

BUT what *vice* hath loſt in *coarſeneſs* of expreſſion, ſhe hath gained in a more eaſy and general *admittance*: In ancient days, *bare* and *impudent obſcenity*, like a common woman of the town, was confined to *brothels*: Whereas the *double entendre*, like a modern fine lady, is now admitted into the *beſt company*; while her *tranſparent covering* of words, like a *thin* faſhionable *gawze* delicately thrown acroſs, *diſcloſes*, while it ſeems to *veil*, her *nakedneſs* of thought.

No wonder, if theſe leading characters of falſe delicacy influence our other entertainments, and be attended with a low and unmanly taſte in *muſic*. That divine art, capable of inſpiring every thing that is great or excellent, of rouzing every nobler paſſion of the ſoul, is at length dwindled into a woman's or an eunuch's effeminate trill. The chaſte and ſolemn airs of CORELLI, of GEMINIANI, and their beſt diſciples; the divine and lofty flights of CALDARA and MARCELLO; the elegant ſimplicity of BONONCINI; the manly, the pathetic, the aſtoniſhing ſtrains of HANDEL, are

are neglected and deſpiſed: while inſtead of theſe, our concerts and operas are diſgraced with the loweſt inſipidity of compoſition, and unmeaning *ſing-ſong*. The queſtion now concerns not the expreſſion, the grace, the energy, or dignity of the muſic: We go not to admire the *compoſition*, but the *tricks* of the *performer*; who is then ſureſt of our ignorant applauſe, when he runs through the compaſs of the *throat*, or traverſes the *finger-board* with the *ſwifteſt dexterity*.

WHILE *muſic* is thus debaſed into effeminacy, her ſiſter-art of *painting* cannot hope a better fate: For the ſame dignity of manners muſt *ſupport*, the ſame indignity *depreſs* them. Connoiſſeurs there are, indeed, who have either *taſte* or *vanity*: Yet even by theſe, the art is conſidered as a matter of *curioſity*, not of *influence*; a circumſtance which proves their taſte to be ſpurious, undirected, or ſuperficial. But with regard to the public eye, this is generally depraved. Neither the comic pencil, nor the ſerious pen of our ingenious countryman *, have been able to keep alive the taſte of nature, or of beauty. The fantaſtic and groteſque have baniſhed *both*. Every houſe of faſhion is now crowded with porcelain trees and birds, porcelain men and beaſts, croſs-legged mandarins and bramins, perpendicular lines and ſtiff right angles: Every gaudy *Chineſe* crudity, either in colour, form, attitude, or grouping, is adopted into faſhionable uſe, and become the ſtandard of taſte and elegance.

LET us then ſearch the theatre for the remains of manly taſte: And *here*, apparently at leaſt, it muſt be acknowledged we ſhall find it. A great genius hath ariſen to dignify the ſtage; who, when it was ſinking into the loweſt inſipidity, reſtored it to the fulneſs of its ancient ſplendor, and with a variety of powers beyond example, eſtabliſhed *Nature*, *Shakeſpear*, and *Himſelf*.

BUT as the attractions of the theatre ariſe from a complication of cauſes, beyond thoſe of any other entertainment; ſo while the judicious critic admires his

* Mr. HOGARTH's treatiſe on the principles of beauty.

original excellencies, it may well be queſtioned whether the crowd be not drawn by certain ſecondary circumſtances, rather than by a diſcernment of his real powers. Need we any other proof of this, than the conduct of his faſhionable hearers? who ſit with the ſame face of admiration at LEAR, an OPERA, or a PANTOMIME.

THESE ſeem to be the main and leading articles of our unmanly winter-delicacies. And as to our ſummer-amuſements, they are much of the ſame *make*, only *lighter*, and if poſſible more *trifling*. As ſoon as the ſeaſon is grown ſo mild, as that the man of faſhion can ſtir abroad, he is ſeen lolling in his *poſt-chariot*, about the purlieus of the town. The manly exerciſe of *riding* is generally diſuſed, as too coarſe and indelicate for the fine gentleman. The metropolis growing thin as the ſpring advances, the ſame rage of pleaſure, dreſs, equipage, and diſſipation, which in winter had chained him to the town, now drives him to the country. For as a vain and empty mind can never give entertainment to itſelf; ſo, to avoid the tædium of ſolitude and ſelf-converſe, *parties* of pleaſure are again formed; the ſame effeminacies, under new appearances, are acted over again, and become the *buſineſs* of the ſeaſon. There is hardly a corner of the kingdom, where a *ſummer ſcene* of public *diſſipation* is not now eſtabliſhed: Here the parties meet till the winter ſets in, and the ſeparate ſocieties are once more met in *London*.

THUS we have attempted a ſimple delineation of the ruling manners of the times: If any thing like ridicule appears to mix itſelf with this review, it ariſeth not from *aggravation*, but the natural *diſplay* of *folly*.

IT may probably be aſked, Why the ruling manners of our women have not been particularly delineated? The reaſon is, becauſe they are eſſentially the ſame with thoſe of the men, and are therefore included in this eſtimate. The ſexes have now little other apparent diſtinction, beyond that of perſon and dreſs: Their peculiar and characteriſtic manners are confounded and loſt:

loſt: The one ſex having advanced into *boldneſs*, as the other have ſunk into *effeminacy*.

SECT. VI.

Of Principles.

MOST writers, who have attempted to prove the efficacy of principle, have ſuppoſed it to be the great and univerſal fountain of manners: They who have eſpouſed the oppoſite ſyſtem, obſerving this theory to be at variance with fact, have raſhly concluded that principle is void of all real influence.

THE truth ſeems to lie between theſe two opinions. Principles cannot be the fountain of manners, becauſe manners precede principles: That is, in our progreſs from infancy, habits of *acting* are *prior* to habits of *thinking*. Yet on the other hand, principles, early and deeply ingrafted in the mind, may grow up with manners; may be at variance with manners; may yield to manners; or, gathering ſtrength by cultivation, may check, control, or deſtroy them.

THIS diſtinction is proper for many reaſons. One is evident: It ſhews the propriety of treating of the manners *firſt*, and *then* the principles of the times.

THE principles here to be eſtimated, are ſuch only as tend to counterwork the *ſelfiſh paſſions*. Theſe are, the principles of *religion*, the principle of *honour*, and the principle of *public ſpirit*. The firſt of theſe has the *Deity* for its object; the ſecond, the *applauſe* of men; the third, the *approbation of our own heart*. Let us examine the preſent influence of theſe ſeveral principles on the manners already delineated.

DID the writer court the applauſe of his polite readers (if any ſuch peradventure may honour him with their regard) he would preface this part of his ſubject with an apology, for the rudeneſs of hinting at *religious principle*. To ſuppoſe a man of faſhion ſwayed in his conduct by a regard to *futurity*, is an affront to the delicacy and refinement of his *taſte*. Hence the day ſet

apart by the laws of his country for religious ſervice, he derides and affronts as a *vulgar* and *abſolete* inſtitution: Should you propoſe to him the renewal of that *family devotion*, which concluded the guiltleſs evening entertainments of his anceſtry? you would become an object of his pity, rather than contempt. The ſublime truths, the pure and ſimple morals of the goſpel, are deſpiſed and trod under foot. Can we wonder, if that profeſſion which aſſerts theſe truths, and preaches theſe morals, be treated with a ſimilar contempt? But irreligion knows no bounds, when once let looſe: and Chriſtianity herſelf hath been obliquely inſulted within thoſe *conſecrated* walls, where *decency* and *policy*, in the abſence of *reaſon* and *virtue*, would for ever have held her in *legal reverence*.

But notwithſtanding the general contempt of religion among the faſhionable world, the uninformed reader is not to imagine, that the preſent age is deep in the *ſpeculations* of *infidelity*. No ſuch matter: for that would imply a certain *attention* to theſe ſubjects: a certain degree of ſelf-converſe and thought; and this would claſh with the ruling manners of the times. Indeed there have not been wanting laborious huſbandmen, who have painfully ſown their tares; not in the night ſeaſon, but in broad day-light. Theſe have at length ſhot up into a large and fruitful crop of *irreligious implicit* FAITH: For implicit faith is *belief* or *diſbelief*, without evidence; and *why* they diſbelieve, I trow, few of the preſent age can tell. They have other attentions, than the meagre ſophiſms of irreligion; and are therefore well content with the *concluſions*, without the *premiſes*. This diſtinction will lead us to the plain reaſon, why in an age of irreligion, ſo capital a book as the writings of Lord BOLINGBROKE, met with ſo cold a reception in the world. Had they appeared under the inviting ſhape of "ESSAYS *philoſophical and moral*," they might have come within the compaſs of a breakfaſt reading, or amuſed the man of faſhion while under the diſcipline of the *curling tongs*: But five *huge quarto* volumes (like five *coarſe* diſhes of beef and mutton) tho'

fraught

fraught with the very *marrow* of infidelity, what *puny* modern *appetite* could poſſibly *ſit down to?*

In confirmation of theſe truths, we may conclude this part of our ſubject with a not incurious anecdote. A certain hiſtorian of our own times, bent upon *popularity* and *gain*, publiſhed a large volume, and omitted no opportunity that offered, to diſgrace religion: A large impreſſion was publiſhed, and a ſmall part ſold. The author being aſked, why he had ſo larded his work with irreligion, his anſwer implied, "He had done it, "that his book might ſell."—It was whiſpered him, that he had totally miſtaken the ſpirit of the times: that no allurements could engage the *faſhionable* infidel world to travel through a large quarto: And that as the few readers of quarto's that yet remain, lie moſtly among the ſerious part of mankind, he had offended his beſt cuſtomers, and ruined the ſale of his book. This information had a notable effect: for a ſecond volume, as large and inſtructive as the firſt, hath appeared; not a ſmack of irreligion is to be found in it; and an apology for the *firſt* concludes the whole.

This being the ſtate of religious principle, let us next examine how it fares with the *principle* of *honour*. By this is meant, "The deſire of fame, or the applauſe "of men, directed to the end of public happineſs." Now this great ambition, which in other times or nations hath wrought ſuch wonderful effects, is no longer to be found among us. It is the pride of *equipage*, the pride of *title*, the pride of *fortune*, or the pride of *dreſs*, that have aſſumed the empire over our ſouls, and levelled *ambition* with the *dirt*. The honeſt pride of *virtue* is *no more*; or, where it happens to exiſt, is overwhelmed by inferior vanities. A man who ſhould go out of the common road of life, in purſuit of glory, and ſerve the public at the expence of his eaſe, his fortune, or his pleaſure, would be ſtared or laughed at in every faſhionable circle, as a ſilly fellow, who meddled with things that did not belong to him: as an ideot, who preferred ſhadows to realities, and needleſs toil to pleaſurable enjoyment. The laurel wreath, once aſpired after as the higheſt object of ambition, would now be

rated

rated at the market-price of its materials, and derided as a *three-penny crown*. And if its modern ſubſtitutes, the *ribbon* or the *coronet*, be eagerly ſought for, it is not that they are regarded as the *diſtinctions* of *public virtue*, but as the *enſigns* of *vanity* and *place*.

But what implies or proves the general extinction of the principle of honour, is a peculiar circumſtance, which at firſt view ſeems to challenge praiſe. It hath been weakly attributed to the moderate and forgiving ſpirit of theſe times, that no age ever ſo patiently ſuffered its ruling follies to be laughed at. But this, in truth, is a ſuperficial and inadequate repreſentation, as well as ſolution, of the fact. We not only ſuffer our ruling vices and follies to be ridiculed, but we cordially join in the laugh. Was there ever a juſter picture drawn, than of modern *effeminacy* and *nonchalence* in the characters of Fribble and Lord Chalkstone? Did ever dramatic characters raiſe louder peals of laughter and applauſe, even among thoſe who ſat for the likeneſs? They hear with pleaſure, they acknowledge the truth of the repreſentation, they laugh at the picture of their own follies; they go home, and *without a bluſh repeat them*. The truth is therefore, that we can ſee and own our vices and follies, *without being touched with ſhame*: a circumſtance which antient times juſtly regarded as the ſtrongeſt indication of degenerate and incorrigible manners.

It appears then, that the principle of honour is either loſt, or totally corrupted: That no generous thirſt of praiſe is left among us: That our ambitions are trifling and unmanly as our pleaſures: That wealth, titles, dreſs, equipage, ſagacity in gaming or wagers, ſplendid furniture and a table, are the ſole fountains, from which we deſire to draw reſpect to ourſelves, or applauſe from others: We aſpire to folly, and are proud of meanneſs: Thus, the principle of *honour* is perverted and dwindled into *unmanly vanity*.

Can it be imagined, that, amidſt this general defect of *religion* and *honour*, the great and comprehenſive principle of *public ſpirit*, or *love of our country*, can gain a place in our breaſts? That mighty principle, ſo often

often feigned, ſo ſeldom poſſeſſed; which requires the united force of upright *manners*, generous *religion*, and unfeigned *honour*, to ſupport it. What ſtrength of thought or conſcious merit can there be in effeminate minds, ſufficient to elevate them to this principle, whoſe object is, "the happineſs of a kingdom?" To ſpeak therefore without flattery, this principle is perhaps leſs felt among us, than even thoſe of religion and true honour. So infatuated are we in our contempt of this powerful principle, that we deride the inhabitants of a *Siſter-Kingdom*, for their *national Attachments* and *Regards*. So little are we accuſtomed to go, or even *think*, beyond the beaten track of private intereſt, in all things that regard our *Country*; that he who merely does his *Duty* in any conſpicuous ſtation, is looked on as a prodigy of publick virtue. But in other times and nations, when this principle was in force, enterprizes were formed, and deeds done, which it would now be thought phrenzy to attempt. Think what a friend will do for a friend; a ſiſter for a brother, a lover for his miſtreſs, a parent for his child; even *that*, in all its fulneſs of affection, in other times and nations, hath been the aim and the work of public virtue, *doing* or *ſuffering* for its *Country's Welfare*.

DOMESTIC affections are not yet generally extinguiſhed: There are kind fathers, kind mothers, affectionate children, ſiſters, brothers: Humanity to diſtreſs, we have already marked as another character of the times: But whether our very effeminacy be not one of its ſources, might probably be a queſtion more *curious* in its progreſs, than *agreeable* in its ſolution.

HOWEVER that be, let us be modeſt in our claims, and confeſs, that our affections ſeldom reach farther than our relations, our friends, or individuals in diſtreſs. Happy (in the preſent) it is for us, that they reach ſo far. Happy were it for us, or our poſterity, that they were of more inlarged extent. In the mean time, let us with due abaſement of heart acknowledge, that the *Love* of our *Country* is no longer felt; and that, except in a few minds of uncommon greatneſs, the principle of *public Spirit* EXISTS NOT.

IT

It is not affirmed or implied, in this general review, that *every Individual* hath aſſumed the garb and character of falſe delicacy, and uncontrolled ſelf love: As in *manly* ages, ſome will be *effeminate*; ſo, in *effeminate* times, the *manly* character will be found: As in times of principle, ſome will be void of principle; ſo, in times when principle is derided, in ſome ſuperior minds principle will be found. But from the general combination of manners and principles, in every period of time, will always reſult one ruling and predominant character; as from a confuſed multitude of different voices, reſults one general murmur, and ſtrikes the diſtant ear; or from a field covered with flocks, herds or armies, though various in themſelves, reſults one general and permanent colour, and ſtrikes the diſtant eye:

Nam ſæpe in Colli tendentes pabula læta
Lanigeræ reptant Pecudes, quo quamque vocantes
Invitant Herbæ gemmantes Rore recenti;
Et ſatiati Agni ludunt, blandeque coniſcant:
Omnia quæ nobis longe confuſa videntur,
Et veluti in viridi Candor conſiſtere Colli *.

It is enough, then, if, from a proper *point of view*, we have fixed the *ruling Colour* of the manners and principles, for on this will depend *the ruling Character* of the *Times*.

As it appears, therefore, from this delineation, that Show and Pleasure are the main objects of purſuit: As the general habit of *refined indulgence* is *ſtrong*, and the habit of *enduring* is *loſt*: As the general ſpirit of *Religion*, *Honour*, and *public Love*, are weakened or vaniſhed; as theſe manners are therefore left to their own workings, uncontrolled by *Principle*; we may with truth and candour conclude, that the ruling character of the preſent times is that of "*a* vain, *luxurious* and *ſelfiſh* Effeminacy."

* Lucretius, l. ii.

PART II.

OF THE PUBLIC EFFECTS OF Theſe MANNERS and PRINCIPLES.

SECT. I.

What conſtitutes the Strength of a Nation.

HITHERTO, we have done little more than *delineate* the ruling manners and principles of the times: we muſt now aſſume a ſeverer tone, and *reaſon* upon the *facts* thus eſtabliſhed.

THERE are three leading circumſtances, on which the *internal ſtrength* of every nation moſt eſſentially depends: Theſe are, the *capacity*, *valour*, and *union*, of thoſe who *lead* the people. The firſt may be called, "*the national capacity*; the ſecond *the national ſpirit* "*of defence*; the third *the national ſpirit of union.*"

THE next ſtep, therefore, will be, to conſider all that variety of reſpects, in which the ruling manners and

and defect of principle, already delineated, muſt naturally weaken or deſtroy theſe ſources of *internal power*.

As this enquiry will of courſe lead to a particular view of thoſe ſeveral ranks, departments, employments, or profeſſions, into which ſuch a nation is divided; it is preſumed, that no inſtances alledged, or facts alluded to, will be weakly conſtrued into the wantonneſs of licentious ſatire. Every profeſſion is honourable, when directed to its proper end, the publick welfare: And the intention of this eſtimate is not to *defame*; but to *enquire* how far the ſeveral *departments* or *profeſſions*, on which the internal *ſtrength* of this nation depends, are *properly* or *improperly* directed.

Sect. II.

Of the national Capacity.

Let us then firſt enquire, how far the falſe delicacy and effeminacy of preſent manners may have weakened or deſtroyed the *national capacity*.

It was a ſhrewd obſervation of a good old writer, "How can he get wiſdom, whoſe talk is of bullocks*?" But *ruſticity* is not more an enemy of knowledge, than *effeminacy:* With the ſame propriety therefore it may now be aſked, "How can he get wiſdom, whoſe talk "is of *dreſs* and *wagers*, *cards* and *borough-jobbing*, "*horſes*, *women*, and *dice?*" The man of faſhion is indeed cut off from the very means of ſolid inſtruction. His late hours occaſion a late riſing; and thus the morning, which ſhould be devoted to the acquiſition of *knowledge*, is devoted to *ſleep*, to *dreſs*, and *ignorance*.

How weak then muſt be the national capacity of that people, whoſe leading members in *public employ* ſhould, in general, be formed on ſuch a model? If inſtead of a general application to books, inſtead of inveſtigating the great principles of *legiſlation*, the genius of their national conſtitution, or its relations and de-

* Book of Wiſdom.

pendencies

pendencies on that of others, the great examples and truths of *hiſtory*, the maxims of generous and upright *policy*, and the ſeverer truths of *philoſophy*, on which all theſe are founded;—if inſtead of theſe, they ſhould ſeldom riſe in *political* ſtudy higher than the ſecuring of a *borough*; inſtead of *hiſtory*, be only read in *novels*; inſtead of *legiſlation*, in *party pamphlets*; inſtead of *philoſophy*, in *irreligion*; inſtead of manly and upright *manners*, in trifling *entertainments*, *dreſs*, and *gameing*:—If this ſhould ever be their ruling character, what muſt be expected from ſuch eſtabliſhed *ignorance*, but *errors* in the firſt concoction?

In a nation thus circumſtanced, it is odds but you would ſee even ſome of its moſt public and ſolemn aſſemblies turned into ſcenes of unmanly riot; inſtead of the *dignity* of *freedom*, the *tumults* of *licentiouſneſs* would prevail. Forwardneſs of young men without experience, intemperate ridicule, diſſolute mirth, and loud peals of laughter, would be the ruling character of ſuch an aſſembly.

This reflexion, ſome how or other, calls up the memory of a circumſtance or two, peculiar to the public meetings of the *Athenians*. In the court of *Areopagus*, ſo little was *ridicule* regarded as a *teſt of truth*, that it was held an unpardonable offence, for any member to *laugh* while the aſſembly was ſitting.—Another wiſe and prudent regulation was the practice of the *cryer* in the *ſenate*; who, before buſineſs began, called out aloud, "*Who will ſpeak that is turned* "*of fifty?*"

It is true, that in every aſſembly of this kind, the public meaſures will generally be determined by the *few*, whoſe ſuperiority is approved and acknowledged: By the *few*, who have been ſo unfaſhionable as to deſpiſe the ruling ſyſtem of effeminacy: and before they had appeared on a *higher ſtage*, had *laboured* and *ſhone* in a *college*. But what an increaſe of *national capacity* muſt ariſe, if thoſe *maſter-ſpirits* were aided, and their plans of government examined and improved, by men of the like *application* and *ability?*

But if, in any nation, the number of theſe ſuperior minds be daily decreaſing, from the growing manners of the times; what can a nation, ſo circumſtanced, have more to fear, than that in another age, a general cloud of ignorance may overſhadow it?

How much, or how little, in this particular, *we* reſemble the declining ſtate of the *Roman* republic, let any one determine from the following paſſage: Where the great author, after celebrating the general *ability* of thoſe who were *formerly* in public ſtation, concludes thus: "Nunc contra, plerique ad honores adi-"piſcendos, et ad rempublicam gerendam, *nudi* ve-"niunt atque *inermes*, nulla cognitione rerum, nulla "ſcientia ornati *."

Let us next conſider the natural effects of theſe effeminate manners, on *fleets* and *armies*. And here, 'tis ſuppoſed, it will be readily acknowledged, that the conduct and fate of fleets and armies depend much on the capacity of thoſe that lead them, through every rank of office. Chiefly, indeed, of thoſe who are *higheſt* in command; but in part too, of thoſe who fill the *lower* ſtations: the more, becauſe they in inferior rank *aſpire*, and by degrees *aſcend*, to the higheſt.

Now, I apprehend, it would be ill taken, *to ſuppoſe*, that the faſhionable and *prevailing manners* abound not in the *army* and *navy*. The gentlemen of theſe profeſſions are even *diſtinguiſhed* by their taſte in *dreſs*, their ſkill at *play*, their attendance on every *amuſement*, provided it be but *faſhionable*. And ſure, it muſt be by miracle, if this trifling and effeminate life conduct them to *knowledge*, or produce *capacity*. It were unjuſt to deny, that men of ability in this order, are *yet* among us. But it would be matter of great pleaſure and expectation to the public, to find *ignorance*, in this *profeſſion*, either *uncommon* or *diſgraceful*.

Would theſe gentlemen pleaſe to look into hiſtory, they would find, that in *poliſhed times*, few have ever diſtinguiſhed themſelves in *war*, who were not eminent or conſiderable in *letters*. They would find Pisis-

* Cic. de Oratore, l. iii.

TRATUS,

TRATUS, PERICLES, ALCIBIADES, DION, AGESILAUS, EPAMINONDAS, among the *Greeks:* In the *Roman* liſt, both the SCIPIO's, CATO the elder and the younger, LUCULLUS, POMPEY, BRUTUS, CESAR, diſtinguiſhed in *letters* as in *war.*

'TIS true, indeed, that in barbarous ages, there want not inſtances of unlearned leaders, who have done mighty actions in battle. But we muſt obſerve, that theſe were, at leaſt, practiſed in their own profeſſion. It is farther to be obſerved, that in ſuch times, the fate of war depends little on *ſtratagem* or *diſcipline.* But it is chiefly to be obſerved, that no general rule can be drawn from a few inſtances. A man of great natural talents takes mighty ſtrides in any ſcience or profeſſion: He is ſelf-taught: While the common run of men, whom nature hath deſtined to travel on to improvement by the beaten track of induſtry, through a blind and ill-underſtood imitation of his ſuperior conduct, muſt for ever fall the victims of their *vanity* and *ignorance.*

HERE then we find another ruling defect in the national capacity of an effeminate people. How few can ariſe, amidſt this general *diſſipation* of manners, capable of conducting its fleets and armies? Or even ſuppoſe a man of application and ability poſſeſſed of the chief command; yet, in caſe he falls in battle, how ſmall muſt be the chance that the next in ſucceſſion, upon whom his command naturally devolves, can be *equal* to the importance of his *new ſtation?*

THERE is another *profeſſion*, which, under this article of the *national capacity*, the vulgar reader will naturally expect to find conſidered; I mean, that of the *clergy.* But the general defect of religious principle among the higher ranks, hath rendered this order of men altogether uſeleſs, except among thoſe in *middle life*, where they ſtill maintain a certain degree of eſtimation. The contempt with which not *they*, but their *profeſſion* is treated by the *ignorant* and *profligate*, is equally common indeed to *high* and *low* life: A circumſtance, which may be an occaſion of *pride* in the *one*, but ought rather to be matter of

humiliation to the other. 'Tis true, a modern writer felicitates the preſent times, and makes it their boaſt, that "the clergy have loſt their influence *." By which he evidently means, that religion hath loſt its influence. Yet of this, at leaſt, one of the order may decently remind his countrymen; that when the *Engliſh proteſtant clergy*, and that Chriſtianity which they teach, were moſt *honoured* and reſpected at *home*, *England* was then moſt honoured and reſpected *abroad*.

And although the preſent faſhionable contempt that is thrown upon their *profeſſion*, preclude the clergy from the *opportunity*, had they the *will*, to practiſe that chriſtian duty of "overcoming evil with good;" yet they need not bluſh to find, that they have *fallen* with the *fame*, the *manners*, and *prinicples* of their country: Nor can the worthy part of them, ſure, aſpire to *truer glory*, than to have become the *contempt* of *thoſe*, who are become the *contempt* of Europe.

But while I defend and *honour* the *profeſſion*, I mean not to flatter the *profeſſors*. As far, therefore, as the influence of *their* conduct and knowledge can be ſuppoſed to affect the *national capacity*; ſo far, they ſeem falling into the ſame unmanly and effeminate peculiarities, by which their contemporaries are diſtinguiſhed: Such of them, I mean, as have opportunity of converſing with what is called the *world*, and are ſuppoſed to make a part of it. In their conduct, they *curb not*, but *promote* and encourage the trifling manners of the times: It is grown a faſhionable thing, among theſe gentlemen, to deſpiſe the duties of their pariſh; to wander about, as the various ſeaſons invite, to every ſcene of falſe gaiety; to *frequent* and *ſhine* in all *public* places, their own *pulpits* excepted.

Or if their age and ſituation ſets them above theſe puerile amuſements, are we not to lament, that, inſtead of a manly and rational regard to the welfare of mankind, the chief employment of many a clerical life is, to ſlumber in a *ſtall*, haunt *levees*, or follow the gainful trade of *election-jobbing*?

* See Mr. Hume's Eſſays.

If

If falſe pleaſure and ſelf-intereſt thus take poſſeſſion of the heart, how can we expect that a regard for religion and chriſtianity ſhould find a *place* there?

In conſequence of theſe ruling habits, muſt we not farther lament, that a general neglect of *letters* is now creeping even upon this profeſſion, which ought to maintain and ſupport them? Inſtead of launching into the *deeps* of learning, the faſhionable *divine* hardly ventures on the *ſhallows*. The great works of *antiquity*, the monuments of ancient honour and wiſdom, are ſeldom *opened* or *explored*: And even mere *modern* books are now generally read at *ſecond hand*, through the falſe mediums of bald *tranſlations* or ſorry *abſtracts*.

This ſeems to be the real ſtate of the *clerical* profeſſion, ſo far as it hath influence on the *national capacity*.

The writer pretends not in any caſe to impoſe his opinions; but ſubmits them to the conſideration of the public. There is a wide difference between the *remonſtrances* of *reaſon*, and the *inſults* of *malice* or *contempt*.

Sect. III.

Of the national Spirit of Defence.

Having ſeen how the manners of the times have levelled the national *capacity*; let us next enquire how it fares with the national ſpirit of *defence*.

As this part of our ſubject naturally involves a larger number of the community than the laſt, it will be neceſſary, here, to take a larger compaſs.

The national ſpirit of *defence*, then, to ſpeak with preciſion, will always be compounded of the national bodily *ſtrength*, *hardineſs*, *courage*, and *principle*.

The *common people* of this nation ſeem poſſeſſed of the *three* firſt of theſe four qualities, in a degree ſufficient to form an effectual and national ſpirit of defence. And though they who are ſelected for public *ſervice* be commonly moſt *profligate* in manners, yet as their

ſphere of action is *confined*, they commonly have a proportioned *kind of principle*, which works its effect in battle. In the land ſervice, they are zealous for the *honour* of their *platoon*, their *company*, their *regiment*. At ſea, there is the ſame emulation, whoſe *gun*, whoſe *ſhip*, whoſe *ſquadron*, ſhall be beſt *ſerved* and *fought*. It is well known there are no better fighting men upon earth. They ſeldom turn their backs upon their enemy, unleſs, when their officers ſhew the way; and, even then, are eaſily rallied; and return to the charge with the ſame courage.

THUS our *Villages* and *Ports* are an effectual fund of ſupplies for the national ſpirit of defence, in its inferior departments.

BUT if we riſe, or rather *deſcend*, to an impartial view of thoſe who are called the *better ſort*, we ſhall find ſuch a general defect in the ſpirit of *defence*, as would alarm any people who were not loſt to all ſenſe of *danger*.

OUR effeminate and unmanly life, working along with our iſland-climate, hath notoriouſly produced an increaſe of *low ſpirits* and *nervous diſorders*, whoſe natural and unalterable character is that of *fear*.

AND, even where this diſtemper *is not*, the preſent falſe delicacy of the faſhionable world effectually diſqualifies them from *enduring toil*, or *facing danger*.

ENTHUSIASTIC religion leads to *conqueſt*; rational religion leads to rational *defence*; but the modern ſpirit of *irreligion* leads to *raſcally* and abandoned *cowardice*. It quencheth every generous hope that can enlarge the ſoul; and levels mankind with the beaſts that periſh.

CAN the debility of modern honour produce the manly ſpirit of defence? Alas! if ever it is put in action by any thing beyond the *vanity* of *ſhew*; it is rouzed by an *affront*, and dies in a *duel*.

HOW far this daſtard ſpirit of effeminacy hath crept upon us, and deſtroyed the national ſpirit of defence, may appear from the general *panic* the nation was thrown into, at the late *rebellion*. When thoſe of every rank above a conſtable, inſtead of arming themſelves and encouraging the *people*, generally fled before the *rebels*; while

while a mob of ragged *Highlanders* marched unmoleſted to the heart of a populous kingdom.

NAY, ſo general was this cowardly and effeminate ſpirit, that it was not confined to the *Friends* of liberty and *Britain*: In *England*, it infected even their *enemies*: who, while the hardy *Scots* riſqued their lives in a ſtrange country, amidſt the inclemencies of a ſevere ſeaſon, ſat like cowards by the chimney corner, tamely wiſhing the ſucceſs of that miſchief, which their effeminate manners durſt not propagate.

IT hath been urged, indeed, as a proof that the national ſpirit of defence is not yet extinguiſhed, that we raiſed ſuch large Sums during that rebellion, and ſtill continue ſuch plentiful ſupplies for the ſupport of our fleets and armies. This is weak reaſoning: For will not *Cowardice*, at leaſt as ſoon as *Courage*, part with a ſhilling or a pound, to avoid *danger?* The capital queſtion therefore ſtill remains, "Not who ſhall *Pay*, but "who ſhall *Fight?*"

MONEY, it is true, hath of late, more than ever, been among *us* regarded as the main *Engine of War*: How truly, let our *Succeſſes* tell the world.—This point will hereafter be treated more at large *. In the mean time, it cannot be amiſs to obſerve, that *a little* of the active *Spirit* of *Courage* would do well, in order to *give play* to this boaſted *Engine*, which otherwiſe may ſink into a *dead* and *unactive Maſs*.

FOR a natural diſplay, therefore, of the genius of the times, commend me to the frank declaration of an *honeſt* gentleman, during the impending terror of a *French* invaſion. "For my part, I am no *Soldier*; "and therefore think it no diſgrace, to own myſelf a "*Coward*. *Here* is my purſe, at the ſervice of my "country: If the *French* come, *I'll pay:* but —— "take me, *if I fight.*"

HOW many modern fine gentlemen, notwithſtanding the warlike weapon at their ſide, would make the ſame *Declaration*, had they the ſame *Sincerity?*

THERE is another circumſtance in modern manners, the conſideration of which muſt not be omitted, be-

* See Part the Third.

cauſe

cauſe at firſt view it bids fair for the ſpirit of defence among the *Great*: I mean, the ſpirit of *deliberate Self-murder*: For this ran high in ancient GREECE and ROME, when the ſpirit of *Defence* was *ſtrong*.

FOR the clearing of this point, it muſt be premiſed and confeſſed, that ſomething *like* the principle of *Honour*, that is, the *Dread* of *Infamy* and *Shame*, appears the leading motive in both inſtances.

BUT a farther diſtinction is to be made, with regard to the different objects of this *Fear*: And for this, we muſt refer to a former ſection *. There we have ſeen, that the ruling *Pride* of a *modern* man of faſhion, lies in the parade of *Dreſs*, *Gaming*, *Entertainments*, and *Equipage*: whereas, on the contrary, the *Ambition* of an old *Roman*, was, to excel in *military Virtue*. Now this diſtinction at once clears up the queſtion we are upon, and confirms much of what hath been advanced on modern principles and manners. The *Roman* killed himſelf, becauſe he had been unfortunate in *War*; the *Engliſhman*, becauſe he hath been unfortunate at *Whiſt*: The *old* hero, becauſe he had *diſgraced* his *country*; the *modern*, becauſe he dares not ſhew his head at *Arthur's*: That, becauſe he was deprived of his *Glory*; this, of his *Ortelans* and *Champaigne*: The firſt was encouraged by a *miſtaken* principle of religion; the latter, by his being *void* of all religion: The one, becauſe he had loſt a *Battle* or a *Province*; the other, becauſe the bailiff hath ſeized his *Equipage*: The *Roman* was impelled to *Self-deſtruction* by the ſtrength of *warlike Honour*; the *Briton*, by *deſpicable* and *effeminate Vanity*.

WHERE then ſhall we ſeek for the genuine ſpirit of defence? Where, in truth, ſhould we moſt ſeek for it, but among thoſe who are our *Defenders* by *Profeſſion*?

BUT, "What probability is there, that the ſpirit of "defence ſhould be ſtrong in any profeſſion, when the "members of that profeſſion are all choſen, without "prior culture or preparation, from a people among "whom the ſpirit of defence is loſt?" The truth implied in this queſtion is ſo evident in itſelf, that it is

* Part i. Sect. 6.

hard

hard to go about to prove it. Can a mere change of *Dreſs* or *Title*, or the buckling on a military *weapon*, infuſe ſtrength, hardineſs, courage, or honour? Theſe are qualities that muſt either be natural, which ſeldom happens; or they muſt be infuſed by an early and continued diſcipline; or elſe, they come not at all. Schools and ſeminaries of this kind we have none; or none that are in any degree attended to. The young men deſigned for the military profeſſion are bred up to the ſame effeminate maxims and manners, which their fathers are proud of: Can we wonder, if theſe ſhoot into action, and form parallel characters? Well might we wonder if they *did not*.

So then, if it appear by our preſent ſucceſs in war, that our naval and military ſpirit of defence is ſtrong, it muſt be evident, at the ſame time, that this great ſpirit is infuſed by ſome means altogether ſupernatural.

In the mean time, what becomes of the four great natural hinges, on which the true ſpirit of defence muſt hang, *Strength*, *Hardineſs*, *Courage*, and *Principle?*

Can the modern ſyſtem of falſe delicacy nerve the warrior with hardineſs and ſtrength? Theſe qualities, I believe, are hardly *boaſted*, as making any part of the modern warlike character. It is a prudent as well as a modeſt part, indeed, not to throw theſe rough and antiquated weights into the preſent military ſcale: For every common eye would detect the falſe pretenſion.

But tho' brutal ſtrength and unpoliſhed hardineſs be gone, are not our *Army* and *Navy* the great *Schools* of *Courage* and *Honour*; where theſe ſhining qualities are of courſe obtained?—Truly, it hath long been ſo affirmed: So long, that the *Affirmation* hath, till of late, paſſed for *proof*. But the nation is now beginning to grow *ſceptical* in this point; and require ſomething more than *Affirmation*, for the ſupport of an article of ſuch *Importance*.

Let us firſt weigh the probability of this, from the nature of things and men. True *Courage* and a principle of *Honour*, if they be not the rare and generous growths of *Nature*, are the effect of *early* and *continued Habits*. Tho' *grown* gentlemen may learn to *Dance*;

Dance; yet, their movements will be none of the moſt *graceful:* And tho' grown gentlemen repair to the ſchool of courage and honour: yet, with all their preconceived maxims of falſe delicacy, their trifling ambitions, and effeminate manners about them, I ween, they are like to make a *ſorry Progreſs*. Long before this, the mind hath taken its *deciſive Caſt* of *Thought*, and can but rarely be brought back from its firſt *Obliquities*.

But ſuppoſe the poſſibility of this ſudden infuſion: It is to be feared, the conſequence would fail us. It is true, that when *Armies* take the *Field*, and *Fleets* put to *Sea*; when ſieges are undertaken, and battles fought, and glory is the prize of toil and danger;—then, indeed, armies and navies become the ſchools of courage and warlike honour: Here is a ſtrong and continued bias put upon the mind of every individual, of force to conquer it's earlieſt obliquities. But where nothing of this happens; where *Land Officers* in the capital are occupied in *Dreſs*, *Cards*, and *Tea*; and in country towns divide their time between milleners *Shops* and *Taverns*; and *Sea Officers*, even in time of war, inſtead of annoying the enemies fleets, are chiefly buſied in the gainful trade of catching *Prizes*;—in ſuch a caſe, the army muſt of neceſſity be the *School*, not of *Honour*, but *Effeminacy*; the *Navy* the ſchool of *Avarice*, to the *Ends of Effeminacy*.

How far thoſe general reaſonings are confirmed by a ſeries of *recent Events*, the world is left to judge. It is not the writer's intention to make perſonal applications, but to trace acknowledged *Facts* to their *Principles* and *Conſequences*.

Sect. IV.

Of the national Spirit of Union.

These accumulated proofs may convince us, that the national ſpirit of *Defence* is not leſs weakened than the national *Capacity*, by the manners and principles of

of the times. Let us next weigh their various effects on the national ſpirit of *Union*.

It may be proper to preface this part of the eſtimate, by obſerving, that whereas a national *Capacity* and ſpirit of *Defence* are not neceſſarily affected by a national form of *government*; the national ſpirit of *Union*, on the contrary, is naturally *ſtrong* under *ſome* forms, and naturally *weak* under *others*.

It is naturally *ſtrong* in *abſolute Monarchies*; becauſe, in the abſence both of manners and principles, the *compelling* power of the *prince* directs and draws every thing to one point; and therefore, in all common ſituations, effectually ſupplies their place.

But in *free Countries* it is naturally *weak*, unleſs ſupported by the generous principles of religion, honour, or public ſpirit: For as, in moſt caſes, a full national union will require, that the ſeparate and partial views of private intereſt be in ſome degree ſacrificed to the general welfare; ſo where principle prevails not, the national union muſt ever be thwarted or deſtroyed by ſelfiſh views and ſeparate intereſts.

Another circumſtance muſt be remarked, by which, in free countries, the national union will accidentally be often checked, but not deſtroyed: I mean, by the freedom of *Opinion* itſelf, urged into act by the very ſtrength of generous and prevailing *Principle*.

This diſtinction leads us to obſerve, what may perhaps be deemed an overſight or inaccuracy of the celebrated Monteſquieu. He hath often given it as his opinion, that *Factions* are not only natural, but neceſſary, to *free* governments: And this general rule he gives without reſtriction. Thus he ſpeaks of *Rome*. "On n'entend parler dans les auteurs, que "des diviſions qui perdirent Rome; mais on ne voit "pas que ces diviſions y étoient *neceſſaires*, qu'elles y "avoient toujours, été, & qu'elles y *devoient tou-* "*jours etre* *."

How far this propoſition is *true* or *falſe* the diſtinction made above will lead us to diſcover. When

* Grandeur des Rom. l. ix.

the

the ſpirit of union is checked, and diviſions ariſe, from the variety and *freedom* of *opinion* only; or from the conteſted rights and privileges of the different ranks or orders of a ſtate, not from the detached and ſelfiſh views of individuals; a republic is then in its *Strength*, and gathers warmth and fire from theſe colliſions. Such was the ſtate of ancient *Rome*, in the ſimpler and more diſintereſted periods of that republic.

BUT when principle is weakened and manners loſt, and factions run high from ſelfiſh ambition, revenge, or avarice, a republic is then on the very eve of its deſtruction: And ſuch was the ſtate of Rome, in the times of MARIUS and SYLLA, POMPEY and CESAR, ANTHONY and AUGUSTUS.

THEREFORE, before we can determine whether the *Factions* that divide a *free* country be *ſalutary* or dangerous, it is neceſſary to know what is their *Foundation* and their *Object*. If they ariſe from *Freedom* of opinion, and aim at the public welfare, they are *ſalutary:* If their ſource be *ſelfiſh* intereſt, of what kind ſoever; they are then *dangerous* and *deſtructive*.

IT was neceſſary to make theſe diſtinctions, before we could ſay with preciſion, how far, in our own country, a *national Spirit of Union*, is in reality a *national* GOOD.

THE point therefore to be examined, is, "how "far our national ſpirit of union is weakened or de- "ſtroyed by ſelfiſh views of good, by ſeparate inter- "eſts, and defect of principle?"

Now, if the delineation already given of our ruling manners and principles be true, the conſequence muſt needs follow, that our national ſpirit of union muſt be ſhaken by them.

NEITHER ſhall we need to caſt about, for evident facts that will confirm this theory. Glaring proofs will meet us at every turn; and not only make good this concluſion, but throw new light on the delineation already made.

THE reſtraints laid on the royal prerogative at the revolution, and the acceſſion of liberty thus gained by the people, produced two effects with reſpect to parliaments.

liaments. One was that, inſtead of being *occaſionally*, they were thence-forward *annually* aſſembled: The other was, that whereas on any trifling offence given, they had been uſually *intimidated* or *diſſolved*, they now found themſelves poſſeſſed of new *Dignity* and *Power*; their conſent being neceſſary for raiſing the *annual Supplies*.

No body of men, except in the ſimpleſt and moſt virtuous times, ever found themſelves poſſeſſed of power, but many of them would attempt to turn it to their own private advantage. Thus the parliaments finding themſelves *of Weight*, and finding at the ſame time that the diſpoſal of all *lucrative Employments* was veſted in the *Crown*, ſoon bethought themſelves, that in exchange for *their* concurrence in granting ſupplies, and forwarding the *Meaſures* of *Government*, it was but equitable that the crown ſhould *concur* in veſting *Them*, or their *Dependants*, with the *lucrative Employs* of ſtate.

If this was done, the wheels of government ran ſmooth and quiet: But if any large body of claimants was diſſatisfied, the political uproar began; and public meaſures were obſtructed or overturned.

William the *third* found this to be the national turn; and ſet himſelf like a politician, to oppoſe it: He therefore ſilenced all he could, by places or penſions: And hence the origin of MAKING of PARLIAMENTS.

But the art, as yet, was but in its *infant* ſtate. The ruling principles, which had brought about the REVOLUTION, had not as yet loſt their force: And the firſt eſſays of art are always rude: Time only, and variety of trial and experiment, can form them into perfect ſyſtems.

In the mean time, this new principle of ſelf-intereſt began to work deeper every day in its effects. As a ſeat in parliament was now found to be of conſiderable ſelfiſh importance, the contention for *Gain*, which had begun in *Town*, ſpread itſelf by degrees into the *Country*. *Shires* and *Burroughs*, which in former times had *paid* their repreſentatives for their attend-

ance in parliament, were now the great objects of *Requeſt*, and *political Struggle*.

And as the *Repreſentatives* had already found their influence, and made their demands on the *Crown*; ſo now, the *Conſtituents* found *their* influence, and made *their* demands on the *Repreſentatives*.

Thus the great chain of political ſelf-intereſt was at length formed; and extended from the *loweſt Cobler* in a *Burrough*, to the *King's firſt Miniſter*.

But a *Chain* of *Self-Intereſt* is indeed no better than a *Rope* of *Sand*: There is no *Cement* nor *Coheſion* between the parts: There is rather a mutual *Antipathy* and *Repulſion*; the character of *Self-Intereſt* being in a peculiar ſenſe, that of "*teres atque ro-*" *tundus*;" wrapt up wholly in *itſelf*; and unconnected with others, unleſs for its own ſake. Here then, we ſee even this chain itſelf ready to fall in pieces, and on any ſudden thwart or concuſſion, break into an infinity of factions.

Besides this, the lucrative employs of our country not being near ſo numerous as the claimants are, in every degree of political power and expectation; the ſpirit of ſelfiſh faction aroſe of courſe in its ſtrength, from unſatisfied demands, and diſappointed avarice.

It hath much been debated, whether the miniſters or the people have contributed more to the eſtabliſhment of this ſyſtem of ſelf-intereſt and faction. On enquiry it would probably appear, that at different periods the pendulum hath ſwung at large on both ſides. It came down, in former times, from the miniſter to the repreſentative, from the repreſentative to the managing alderman, from the alderman to the cobler. In later times, the impulſe ſeems to have been chiefly in the contrary direction: From the cobler to the managing alderman; from him, to the member; from the member, to the *great Man* who ruled the burrough; and thence to the miniſter. Thus, what was formerly, in the miniſter, an act of *ſuppoſed Prudence*, has of late grown into an act of *ſuppoſed Neceſſity*. The *Cobler* by this time had found his *Strength*, ſo the preſſure went *upwards*, till it came upon the *Miniſtry*.

To

To ſuppoſe that the ſervants of the crown never attempted meaſures that were known to be bad, nor ever *made* parliaments, in order to carry their attempts into action, would be ridiculous: But on the other hand it is equally true, what MACHIAVEL ſomewhere delivers as a maxim, "That an ill-diſpoſed citizen can "do no great harm, but in an ill-diſpoſed city." Bribery in the miniſter ſuppoſes a corrupt people.

AND, to venture a plain, tho' perhaps an unpopular truth on this occaſion; it muſt be owned that a miniſter is not therefore *certainly* corrupt in his *Intention*, becauſe he *makes* a Parliament by indirect and corrupt *Means*. This conduct, however indefenſible, may ariſe from two oppoſite cauſes. He may be *afraid* of the *Virtue* of a nation, in its *oppoſing bad* meaſures: Or he may not dare to *rely* on the *Virtue* of a nation, in *ſupporting* him in *good ones*.

THERE was a noted miniſter in this kingdom, who, during his long reign, ſeems to have put theſe two maxims in practice, as occaſion offered. For if it was his maxim, "that every man had his price." It was his maxim too, "That he was obliged to bribe the "members, not to vote *againſt*, but *according* to their "*Conſcience*."

HOWEVER, this is not meant as a vindication of his meaſures. On the contrary, they ſeem generally to have aimed no higher than to ſecure preſent expedients, to oblige his friends and dependants, and provide for his own ſafety. His capacity, even when he meant well, ſeems to have been too narrow to comprehend any *great Plan* of legiſlation; and perhaps his character might be drawn in theſe few words, "That "while he ſeemed to *ſtrengthen* the *Superſtructure*, "he *weakened* the *Foundations* of our *Conſtitution*."

BUT however defective miniſters may have been in making the public welfare the *main Object* of their views, we may be ſatisfied by this eſtimate of things from the *Revolution* to the preſent times, that the nation have at leaſt marched "*Paſſibus æquis*." And tho' this work is not intended either as a defence or an accuſation of miniſters; yet for the ſake of truth it

muſt be ſaid, that the eternal clamours, of a ſelfiſh, and a factious people, againſt every miniſtry that riſes, puts one in mind of thoſe *Carthaginian* armies, which being at once cowardly and inſolent, ran away at ſight of an enemy, and then *crucified* their *General*, becauſe he did not gain the *Victory*.

To return therefore to our ſubject, (if, indeed, we have departed from it) evident it is, that the want of principle hath at length firmly eſtabliſhed a ſyſtem of political ſelf-intereſt among us, which muſt at all times break out into factions; and prevent the great effects which a national ſpirit of union would produce. Former times, we plainly ſee, have been fatally infected with this ſelfiſh ſpirit. Preſent times, *in this reſpect*, are *ſacred*; and therefore we ſpeak not of them. But if the ruling manners and preſent want of principle in this kingdom be not checked in their carriere; we muſt expect that future times will be more ſelfiſh, and therefore more factious, than thoſe former ones, we have already deſcribed.

For vanity, luxury, and effeminacy, (increaſed beyond all belief within theſe twenty years) as they are of a *ſelfiſh*, ſo are they of a craving and unſatisfied nature: The preſent rage of pleaſure and unmanly diſſipation hath created a train of new neceſſities, which in their demands outſtrip every poſſible ſupply.

And if the great principles of religion, honour, and public ſpirit are weak or loſt among us, what effectual check can there be upon the great, to controul their unbounded and unwarranted purſuit of lucrative employments, for the gratification of theſe unmanly paſſions?

And whenever this happens, what can we expect as the conſequence, but a general anarchy and confuſion? what, but that diſappointed *Avarice* will kindle *Faction?* That national union muſt be thwarted by ſelfiſh regards? That no public meaſure, however ſalutary, can be carried into act, if it claſh with any foreſeen private intereſt?

Nay,

NAY, is it not the duty of every well-wiſher to his country, to conſider, not only how ſoon this *may be*, but how far *it is* our preſent ſituation.

WHAT other effect can naturally ariſe from the vanity, diſſipation, and rapacity of a diſſolute people? For in a nation ſo circumſtanced, 'tis natural to imagine, that next to gaming and riot, the chief attention of the great world muſt be turned on the buſineſs of *Election-jobbing*, of ſecuring *Counties*, controuling, bribing, or buying of *Burroughs*, in a word, on the poſſeſſion of a great parliamentary intereſt?

BUT what an aggravation of this evil would ariſe, ſhould ever thoſe of the higheſt rank, tho' prohibited by act of parliament, inſult the laws by interfering in elections, by ſolliciting votes, or procuring others to ſollicit them; by influencing elections in an avowed defiance of their country, and even *ſelling* vacant *ſeats* in parliament to the *beſt Bidder?*

WOULD not this be a faithful copy of degenerate and declining *Rome?* "Ea demum Romæ libertas eſt, non "ſenatum, non magiſtratus, non leges, non mores majorum, non inſtituta patrum vereri."

AND what, can we ſuppoſe would be the real drift of this illegitimate waſte of time, honour, wealth, and labour? might not the very reaſon publickly aſſigned for it be this, "That they may ſtrengthen themſelves "and families, and thus gain a *laſting Intereſt* (as "they call it) for their dependants, ſons and poſte-"rity?" Now what would this imply but a ſuppoſed right or privilege of demanding lucrative employs, as the chief object of their view? And whence can this ſuppoſed privilege of demand derive its force, but from a foreſeen power, and determined purpoſe, of kindling faction, and obſtructing all publick meaſures, in caſe of diſappointment and diſguſt?

WE ſee then, how the political ſyſtem of ſelf-intereſt is at length compleated; and a foundation laid in our principles and manners for *endleſs diſſentions* in the ſtate.

THUS *Faction* is eſtabliſhed, not on *Ambition*, but on *Avarice:* on *Avarice* and *Rapacity*, for the ends of *Diſſipation.*

Need we point out particular facts, in confirmation of theſe truths? Is not the nation even now labouring under this fatal malady? Is not the deadly *Bow-ſtring* already ſtretched, and the *Public* gaſping and expiring under the tugs of oppoſed and contending parties?

"Diſtractam, laceratamque Rempublicam—magis "*quorum in manu ſit*, quam *ut incolumis ſit* quæri*."

Sect. V.

Of the Conſequences of National Diſunion.

It is not enough to have ſhewn in what manner our defect of principle and ruling manners have compleated the ruin of the national ſpirit of union: If we would obtain a full view of our ſubject, it is a neceſſary tho' diſagreeable taſk, to trace this *Diſunion* thro' its *particular Effects*.

Now theſe will always vary along with the character of the people thus divided. If the nation be *warlike*, and the ſpirit of defence be *ſtrong*, the danger will generally ariſe from *within*. If the nation be *effeminate*, and the ſpirit of defence be *weak*, the danger will generally ariſe from *without*.

The firſt of theſe was the ſituation and fate of the antient military republics. That of *Corinth* was deſtroyed by the faction of the *Prætor* Diæus and his party. The *Athenian* commonwealth was again and again ſhaken and overturned by the weight of oppoſing parties: inſomuch that the hiſtory of this *Republic* may juſtly be ſtyled the hiſtory of *Faction*. When degenerate manners had deſtroyed the purity of the *Spartan* conſtitution and laws of Lycurgus, Agis attempted to reſtore them, but was murdered in the generous attempt by a faction headed by the *Ephori*. The *Roman* commonwealth, in its later periods, was thrown into perpetual convulſions by ambitious and warlike faction, and died at laſt of the malady. And, to paſs by many

* Liv.

other

other proofs that might be alledged, what rivers of blood have been ſpilt in *our own Country*, among contending factions, while the ſpirit of arms and honour remained among us?

But to give every period of manners it's due character, it is confeſſed that in the preſent *effeminate* tho' *factious* times, we have no danger of this kind to fear. For as our manners are degenerated into thoſe of women, ſo are our weapons of offence.

But as this *Home Security* ariſes only from the common *Impotence*; it is probable, that other nations may ſoon know of what materials we are made; and therefore our danger is likely to ariſe from *without*.

Let us then examine what effects this national ſpirit of *Diſunion* muſt have upon us, as we ſtand affected by any *foreign Enemy*.

It weakens the *Conſiſtency* of all publick meaſures: So that no great national ſcheme of thought can be carried into action, if it's accompliſhment demands any long continuity of time.

It weakens not only the *Conſiſtency*, but the *Vigour* and expedition of all public meaſures: So that while a divided people are contending about the means of ſecurity or defence, a united enemy may ſurprize and invade them.

These are the apparent conſequences of national diſunion: There is another not ſo obvious, and therefore more likely to be fatal.

We have ſeen that in a nation circumſtanced like *ours*, the great contention among thoſe of quality and fortune will probably lie in the affair of *Election Intereſts*: That next to effeminate pleaſure and gaming, this (for the ſame end as gaming) will of courſe be the capital purſuit: that this intereſt will naturally be regarded as a kind of *Family-Fund*, for the proviſion of the younger branches: and that it's force muſt ariſe from this principle, that in caſe the head of the family is not *gratified* in his lucrative demands, he and his dependants will raiſe a *Combuſtion* in the ſtate.

Viewing the affair then, in this light; we ſhall ſee that, beſides the general ill influence of faction, this principle

principle of diſunion muſt farther tend to weaken or deſtroy both the national *Capacity* and the national ſpirit of *defence*.

For, in a nation ſo circumſtanced, thro' the ſtrength of this principle, many high and important poſts, in every public and important profeſſion, muſt of courſe be filled by men, who inſtead of *Ability* and *Virtue*, plead this *Intereſt* for their *beſt Title*.

Thus in a time when ſcience, capacity, courage, honour, religion, publick ſpirit are rare; the remaining *Few* who poſſeſs theſe virtues, will often be ſhut out from theſe ſtations which they would fill with honour; while every public and important employ will abound with men, whoſe *Manners* and *Principles* are of the *neweſt Faſhion*.

'Tis acknowledged there are exceptions to the truth of this remark. Nay, were it neceſſary, the writer could gratify his vanity, by ranking ſome of theſe names in the number of his friends. But notwithſtanding theſe exceptions, the general obſervation will maintain it's truth.

How indeed can it be otherwiſe, while the conſciouſneſs of this principle has any place in the mind? Is not the parliament-intereſt of every powerful family continually rung in the ears of it's branches and dependants? And does not this inevitably tend to relax and weaken the application of the young men of quality and fortune, and render every man who has reliance on this principle, leſs qualified for thoſe ſtations *which* BY THIS VERY PRINCIPLE he *obtains?* For why ſhould a youth of family or faſhion (thus he argues with himſelf) "Why ſhould *He* ſubmit to the "drudgery of ſchools, colleges, academies, voyages, "campaigns, fatigues, and dangers, when he can riſe "to the higheſt ſtations by the ſmooth and eaſy path "of parliamentary intereſt?"

'Tis granted, indeed, that the ſons and relations of men of quality and fortune, have not only an equal, but even a prior claim to all high employments in the ſtate, provided only, they are *qualified to fill them honourably*.

We

We may truly add to this, that in that period of a ſtate, when capacity, courage, and honour, form its ruling character; thoſe of high quality and degree, are generally of all others the moſt capable, moſt couragious, moſt honourable.

On the contrary, where effeminacy and ſelfiſh vanity form the ruling character of a people; there we may be no leſs certain, that thoſe of high rank and quality will in general be of all others moſt vain, moſt ſelfiſh, moſt incapable, moſt effeminate.

The reaſon is permanent, and the ſame in both caſes: "Becauſe in every period of every ſtate, the in-"fluence of the *leading People*, ſoon or late, will form "it's *leading Character*."

How far theſe truths are verified by preſent facts, it were *needleſs*, perhaps *dangerous*, particularly to ſay. Let it therefore be left to the candid conſideration of every honeſt and impartial man, how far ſeveral recent events, by which both the honour and outward ſtrength of this nation have been impaired, have ariſen from the prevailing principle here delineated.

We may conclude this ſubject with a general remark, which, together with the reſult of theſe obſervations, may form a general maxim: That "when factions ariſe from the exceſs of military ſpirit and the ambition of dominion, they increaſe the national capacity and ſpirit of defence: On the contrary, where factions ariſe from ſelfiſh effeminacy, the national capacity and ſpirit of defence will certainly be weakened or deſtroyed*."

Such are the effects of this prevailing principle of ſelf-intereſt and diſunion, in *high Life*. But if we take

* We muſt not omit to obſerve, that there are two profeſſions which, even in the moſt ſelfiſh and effeminate times, will generally maintain their proper vigour: Theſe are the profeſſions of Law and Physic. For as their object is the ſecurity of the Property and Health of individuals, the moſt ſelfiſh and effeminate of mankind will always be more attentive to the preſervation of those, in proportion as they are less attentive to the publick welfare, and loſt to all generous affections and regards. Thus even in the moſt ſelfiſh and effeminate times, the ableſt Lawyers and Physicians will generally be at the head of their profeſſion.

into

into the account all that deſpicable train of political managers, agents, and burrough-jobbers, which hang like leeches upon the great, nor ever quit their hold till they are full gorged; we ſhall then ſee this reigning evil in it's laſt perfection. For here, to incapacity and demerit, is generally added *Inſolence*. Every low fellow of this kind looks upon the man of genius, capacity, and virtue, as his natural enemy. He regards him with an evil eye; and hence undermines or defames him; as one who thwarts his views, queſtions his title, and indangers his expectations. He muſt have had little experience in the world, who has not, among *every Order*, met with flagrant characters of this kind, and inſtances of this truth.

THUS the public body is *again* weakened, or rather *mutilated* in all it's limbs. And that national ſpirit of *Diſunion* which our principles and manners have produced, comes not only attended with it's proper and *immediate Effects*, but hath completed the ruin of the national *Capacity*, and the national ſpirit of *Defence*.

SECT. VI.

An Objection, drawn from the Manners of the French *Nation, conſidered.*

WE might here cloſe our eſtimate of the public effects of the ruling manners and principles of the times; were not the theory here eſtabliſhed on a number of concurrent facts, apparently liable to an objection.

THIS ariſeth from the ruling manners of the *French* nation: Which being as *vain* and *effeminate* as our own, and the very archetype from which our own are drawn, ſhould of courſe involve that nation in the ſame conſequences, the ſame defect of national *Capacity*, *Defence* and *Union*: But as theſe principles of national and internal ſtrength are, on all hands acknowledged to maintain their proper vigour in *France*, where the ruling manners are effeminate; therefore, ſay the patronizers of our modern manners, *theſe* cannot

not be the cauſe of our national miſcarriages and defects.

'Tis granted, then, that their manners are of the ſame kind: But on examination it will appear, that whereas *ours* (as we have ſeen) are ſuffered to go on to all their proper and natural effects; *theirs*, on the contrary, are checked and counteracted in their effects, by a variety of cauſes and principles wholly diſſimilar.

Their effeminate *Manners* affect not their national *Capacity*, becauſe their youth are aſſiduouſly trained up for all public offices, civil, naval, military, in ſchools provided at the national expence: Here the candidates for public employ go thro' a ſevere and laborious courſe of diſcipline, and only expect to *riſe* in *Station*, as they *riſe* in *Knowledge* and *Ability*.

Their effeminate manners affect not their national ſpirit of *Defence*, becauſe they are controuled by the principle of military *Honour*. This, for ſome ages, hath been early inſtilled into every riſing generation; and is at length become ſo ſtrong and univerſal, as to form the *national Character*. It ſpreads through every rank; inſpires even the meaneſt in the kingdom; and pervades and actuates the whole machine of government, with a force little inferior to that of public *Virtue*.

It were no incurious ſubject, to inveſtigate this peculiar principle to it's firſt cauſes: But *that* lies beyond the intention of the preſent deſign. It may be called a *peculiar* principle in *France*, becauſe it is *unconnected*, nay even at *Variance* with it's manners; and in no other country did this principle ever ſubſiſt in it's ſtrength, when *other* principles were *weakened*, and *Manners loſt*.

It may ſeem, perhaps, at firſt view, to have ariſen from the civil wars that rent the kingdom in the time of Henry *the Great*, to have been transfuſed from thence into the gallant reign of Louis, and thence heightened and delivered down to preſent times.

But tho' it received great heightenings in theſe two reigns, yet it produced ſignal and peculiar effects, before the firſt of theſe periods. In proof of this we need only alledge the famous route called the *Battle of Spurs*, when

when HENRY *the Eighth* of *England* invaded *France*. On this occaſion, the body of the *French* army giving way thro' ſome ſudden panic, the officers kept their ground, and rather choſe to be ſlain or taken priſoners, than give countenance to ſuch an ignominious flight.

THIS principle, ſo remarkable at this day among the FRENCH, *we* ſtigmatize with the name of *falſe Honour*. Such as it is, it were to be wiſhed we had more of it. It aims not indeed at *generous* ends, beyond a *certain Sphere*: But it is plauſible, polite and ſplendid, in the purſuit even of it's ungenerous ends. In ſhort, the honour, like the religion of *France*, is not *void* of benevolence, but *confines* it's benevolence, within a *certain Pale*. 'Tis *falſe* honour, as it regards *other* nations; as it regards *their own Country*, it is *true*.

AS this principle in *France* ſecures the national ſpirit of defence, ſo the *Power of their Monarch*, aided by this principle, ſecures their national ſpirit of *Union*. In conſequence of this, the world has accidentally ſeen their vaſt plan of power (formed by the great *Colbert* almoſt a century ago) carried on, tho' with frequent interruptions, and in a great degree now accompliſhed, thro' a variety of reigns, wars and adminiſtrations. The *Monarch*'s power gives *Unity* and *Steddineſs*, the principle of *Honour* gives *Vigour*, to every *Movement* of the ſtate.

THUS, in contradiction to all known example, *France* hath become powerful, while ſhe ſeemed to lead the way in effeminacy: And while ſhe hath allured her neighbour nations, by her own example, to drink largely of her *circæan* and *poiſoned Cup* of *Manners*, hath ſecured her own *Health*, by the *ſecret Antidote* of *Principle*.

FORCED by this, the character of the *French* nation, tho' inconſiſtent, is reſpectable: They have found, or rather invented, the art of uniting all extremes: They have virtue and vices, ſtrengths and weakneſſes, ſeemingly incompatible. They are effeminate yet brave: inſincere, yet honourable: hoſpitable, not benevolent: vain, yet ſubtile: ſplendid, not generous: warlike, yet polite: plauſible, not virtuous: mercantile, yet

not

not mean: In trifles ſerious, gay in enterprize: Women at the toilet, heroes in the field: profligate in heart; in conduct, decent: Divided in opinion, in action united: In manners weak, but ſtrong in principle: *Contemptible* in *private* life; in *public*, *Formidable*.

SECT. VII.

Of the moſt probable Tendency of theſe Effects.

NOTWITHSTANDING this apparent objection, therefore, the principles here advanced maintain their force. And thus we ſee, how our *effeminate Manners* and *Defect* of *Principles* have weakened the national capacity, and ſpirit of defence; and by giving a new turn to our national *Diſunion*, have ſtill farther aggravated theſe ruling evils in the ſtate.

WHAT then is the moſt probable conſequence of this *national Debility?*

'TIS from an *outward Enemy*, as hath been obſerved, that danger is moſt to be apprehended.

THE FRENCH, in land armies, are far our ſuperiors: They are making large and dreadful ſtrides towards us, in *naval Power*. They have more *than diſputed* with us the empire of the *Mediterranean*. They are driving us from our forts and colonies in *America*.

THESE are the ſteddy effects of *their* principles and union; of *our* deficiency in *both*.

THESE cauſes reach to, and operate, even in the *new* world. *Their Governors* of colonies are actuated by *Honour* and their *Monarch's Power*: *Ours*, too commonly, by *Self-Love* and uncontrouled *Rapine*. *Their* zeal and policy direct them to make *Converts* and *Friends* of the *Indian Nations*: *Our* irreligion prevents the *one*; our diſhoneſt treatment, the *other*. For by the beſt accounts, our colonies have in general copied, and even outgone us, in every *faſhionable Degeneracy*.

SHOULD the *French*, then, poſſeſs themſelves of *North America*, what eye can be ſo weak, as not to

ſee the conſequence? Muſt not a naval power come upon us, *equal*, if not ſuperior to our own?

THUS by a gradual and unperceived decline, we ſeem gliding down to ruin. We laugh, we ſing, we feaſt, we play: we *adopt* every *Vanity*, and *catch* at every *Lure*, thrown out to us by the *Nation* that is *planning* our *Deſtruction*; and while fate is hanging over us, are *ſightleſs* and thence *ſecure*. Were we but as *innocent* as *Blind*, we ſhould, in our *Fondneſs* for *French* manners, compleatly reſemble the *Lamb* deſcribed by the *Poet*:

The lamb thy riot dooms to bleed to-day,
Had he thy reaſon, wou'd he ſkip and play?
Pleas'd to the laſt, he crops the flow'ry food;
And licks the hand that's rais'd to ſhed his blood.

PART III.

PART III.

OF THE SOURCES OF Theſe MANNERS and PRINCIPLES.

SECT. I.

Of a general Miſtake on this Subject.

THE public effects of our manners and principles here enumerated, begin now to appear too manifeſt in our public miſcarriages, to be any longer derided. The nation ſtands aghaſt at it's own misfortunes: But, like a man ſtarting ſuddenly from ſleep, by the noiſe of ſome approaching ruin, knows neither whence it comes, nor how to avoid it.

IN proof of this, we need only look into the late inſtructions from conſtituents to repreſentatives. Theſe, we ſee, ſeldom look farther than the immediate and incidental occaſion of each particular miſconduct: While the grand general principles in which theſe miſconducts

have been chiefly founded, are neither ſeen, nor ſuſpected: Nay, an impartial enquiry will probably convince us, that while they ſtrike at the ſhoots and branches, they feed the root from whence theſe miſconducts have been originally derived.

For it ſeems to be the ruling maxim of this age and nation, that if our trade and wealth are but increaſed, we are powerful, happy, and ſecure: And in eſtimating the real ſtrength of the kingdom, the ſole queſtion for many years hath been, "What commerce and riches "the nation is poſſeſſed of?" A queſtion, which an ancient lawgiver would have laughed at.

There never was a more fatal error more greedily embraced by any people.

Sect. II.

Of the Effects of exorbitant Trade and Wealth on Manners.

By wealth is underſtood, every kind of uſeful poſſeſſion; or money, which is it's ſign, and may be converted into it.

By commerce is underſtood the exchange of wealth, for mutual benefit.

The effects of commerce on manners have by moſt writers, I think, been conſidered as *uniform*. Even the ſage and amiable Monteſquieu ſays only, in general terms, "That commerce poliſhes manners, but "corrupts manners*." Whereas, from a candid view of it's nature and effects, we ſhall probably find, that in it's firſt and middle ſtages it is beneficent; in it's laſt, dangerous and fatal.

If we view commerce in its firſt ſtages, we ſhall ſee, that it ſupplies mutual neceſſities, prevents mutual wants, extends mutual knowledge, eradicates mutual prejudice, and ſpreads mutual humanity.

* L'Eſprit des Loix, l. xx. c. 1.

If we view it in it's middle and more advanced period, we ſhall ſee, it provides conveniences, increaſeth numbers, coins money, gives birth to arts and ſcience, creates equal laws, diffuſes general plenty and general happineſs.

If we view it in it's third and higheſt ſtage, we ſhall ſee it change it's nature and effects. It brings in ſuperfluity and vaſt wealth; begets avarice, groſs luxury, or effeminate refinement among the higher ranks, together with general loſs of principle.

Concerning the two firſt ſtages of commerce, I ſhall have no diſpute with the preſent times: It's benefits are generally acknowledged. The dangerous effects of it's exorbitance or exceſs have not yet been ſufficiently developed.

That commerce in it's exceſs brings a general ſuperfluity of goods, that this general ſuperfluity ſettles in particular hands into vaſt wealth, will be readily acknowledged.

The next ſtep is, to conſider how vaſt wealth naturally produces avarice, luxury, or effeminacy, according to the genius or circumſtances of the people among whom it comes.

Induſtry, in it's firſt ſtages, is *frugal*, not *ungenerous*: It's end being that of ſelf-preſervation and moderate enjoyment, it's little ſuperfluities are often employed in acts of generoſity and beneficence. But the daily increaſe of wealth by induſtry, naturally increaſes the *Love* of wealth. The paſſion for money, being founded, not in ſenſe, but imagination, admits of no ſatiety: like thoſe which are called the natural paſſions. Thus the habit of ſaving money, beyond every other habit, gathers ſtrength by continued gratification. The attention of the whole man is immediately turned upon it; and every other purſuit held light when compared with the increaſe of wealth. Hence the natural character of the trader, when his final proſpect is the acquiſition of wealth is that of *Induſtry* and *Avarice*.

What is true, in this reſpect, of *trading Men*, is true of *trading Nations*. If their commerce be that of œconomy in the extreme, if the laſt object of their

purſuit be wealth for it's own ſake, if the leaders of ſuch a people be *commercial*, the character of that people, and it's leaders, will be found in *Induſtry* and *Avarice*.

But if a trading nation hath a large *Territory*, ſufficient to create a *Landed Intereſt*, commeree will produce very different effects.

For as it multiplies inhabitants, and brings in wealth, it naturally increaſes the value of landed eſtates. Barren grounds are cultivated, and cultivated ſpots are made more fertile. Hence a vaſt acceſſion of income to the nobility and gentry.

These ranks of men being not bred up to habits of induſtry; on the contrary, their increaſed rents coming in unſought for, and their time being often a load upon them, thro' want of capacity and employment, the habit of *Indulgence* comes on, and grows of courſe. Additional wealth gives the power to gratify every deſire that riſes, leiſure improves theſe deſires into habits; thus money is at length conſidered as no more than the means of gratification; and hence the genuine character of a rich nobility or gentry, is that of expence and luxury.

But the firſt eſſays of luxury, like thoſe of every other art, are coarſe and rude: The natural character of luxury, therefore, is to refine by degrees: Eſpecially, when aſſiſted by commerce, it advances apace into refinement. For commerce ſearches every ſhore and climate for it's ſupplies; and art is ſtudious, becauſe rewarded, in arranging and applying theſe materials to the moſt exquiſite and delicate uſe. Thus every coarſe mode of pleaſure is by degrees deſpiſed; new habits of higher indulgence come on: groſs luxury is baniſhed, and effeminacy takes it's place.

But luxury, in this *laſt* period, being exhauſted in it's courſe; and turned, for want of new objects of indulgenee, into debility and languor, would expire or ſleep, were it not awakened by another paſſion, which again calls it into action. Nothing is ſo natural to effeminate minds, as *Vanity*. This rouzes the luxurious and debilitated ſoul and the arts of pleaſurable enjoyment

ment are now puſhed to their higheſt degree, by the ſpirit of delicate emulation.

THUS the whole attention of the mind is centred on *Brilliancy* and *Indulgence:* Money, tho' deſpiſed as an *End*, is greedily ſought as a *Means:* And *Self*, under a different appearance from the trading ſpirit, takes equal poſſeſſion of the ſoul.

THUS as the character of a ſtate altogether commercial in the higheſt degree, is that of induſtry and avarice; ſo, in a nation of extended territory, where commerce is in it's higheſt period, while it's trading members retain their habits of induſtry and avarice, the natural character of it's landed ranks, it's nobility and gentry, is that of "a vain, luxurious, and ſelfiſh effe-"minacy."

WE ſpeak here of the ſimple and proper effects of trade and wealth, uncontrouled by oppoſite manners or principles; which, it is to be obſerved, never exiſted probably, at leaſt in the mixed ſtate, in their full extent: Individuals there are, and will be, in almoſt every ſtate and period, who are influenced by diſſimilar manners or principles: There are traders who are generous; Nobles and gentry whoſe ultimate paſſion is for gold: But ſuch exceptions affect not the general principle: And tho' theſe incidental mixtures *weaken* the different colours of different ranks or ſtates, yet ſtill the different colours remain in their nature diſtinct and invariable.

'TIS probable, the reader will have diſcovered, that this reaſoning is ſtrengthened by, or rather built upon, the examples of two neighbour nations; one wholly commercial, that of *Holland:* The other a mixed ſtate, compounded of a commercial and landed intereſt; I mean *our own*. And to ſay the truth; no two nations perhaps ever exiſted, which approached ſo near to the full and proper effects of the cauſes here alledged.

IT will appear immediately why the genius of the republic of *Holland* is here analyſed into its firſt principles; which are ſimply, thoſe of induſtry and the love of gain.

IN

In the mean time, we may juſtly conclude from this argument, that the exorbitant trade and wealth of *England* ſufficiently account for it's preſent *Effeminacy*.

Sect. III.

Of the Effects of exorbitant Trade and Wealth on the religious Principle.

Such therefore are the ruling manners which may naturally be expected in a nation thus circumſtanced, unleſs they be counteracted by oppoſite principles: 'Tis now time to conſider the natural effects of exorbitant trade and wealth, on all theſe ſalutary principles by which theſe effeminate manners can moſt effectually be controuled.

Let us ſtill carry the two characteriſtic ſtates of *Holland* and *England*, in our eye.

Whether, then, we view the commercial ſtate, where the love of money rules; or the mixed ſtate, where vain effeminacy predominates; we ſhall find both theſe national characters have but a bad aſpect and influence on every kind of principle. Let us firſt conſider that of religion.

Avarice ſeems not, in it's own nature, prone to deſtroy *ſpeculative* religious belief; but effectually to extinguiſh *active* religious principle.

It tends not to deſtroy ſpeculative belief, becauſe this effect muſt be a work of application, time, and labour: Now the labour of avarice is naturally bent on it's main object, *Money*; therefore, to waſte this labour on the propagation of the unprofitable and fruitleſs doctrines of irreligion, muſt ever be contrary to it's ruling character.

But avarice naturally tends to the deſtruction of active religious principles; becauſe this is chiefly a matter of *habitual Impreſſion*; and therefore, in order to accompliſh it's deſtruction, nothing more is neceſſary than to *forget*. Now this requires no poſitive act or

labour

labour of the mind, but is the natural reſult from an attentive purſuit of the favourite object, *Money*.

HENCE, in a mere commercial ſtate, actuated by the love of gain, religion is not railed at or diſputed againſt, but only *neglected* and *forgot*. And thus the *genuine Trader*, who never queſtioned the articles of his national faith at home, ſcruples not to forſwear *Chriſtianity*, and tread upon the croſs in *Japan*, and returns the ſame good *Chriſtian* as he went.

BUT in the mixed ſtate, where national effeminacy forms the *primary*, and avarice only the *ſecondary* character, the effects of exorbitant trade and wealth on religious principle, will be widely different.

LORD *VERULAM* hath ſome where obſerved, that "Times of atheiſm are civil times." He had been much nearer the truth, had he affirmed, that "Civil "times are times of atheiſm." He miſtook the cauſe for the effect.

THIS effect of national luxury and refinement, in producing national irreligion, is not difficult to account for. In ſome periods of a ſtate, opinions controul manners; but in moſt periods, manners controul opinions. Where the ruling manners coincide with the common good, as in the middle period of a ſtate, there we commonly find that a rational and beneficent ſyſtem of religion prevails: This comes to paſs, becauſe the principles of the received religion contradict not the ruling manners.

BUT in the ſtate and period of luxury or refinement, active religious principle is loſt thro' the attentive purſuit of *Pleaſure*; as in the commercial ſtate, it is loſt thro' the attentive purſuit of *Gain*.

AND *ſpeculative* belief, in this period, muſt naturally be loſt along with *practical*; becauſe *Leiſure* and *Literature* having opened the field of *Diſputation*, vice as well as virtue will of courſe arm herſelf with every weapon of preſervation and defence. Luxury therefore will generally liſt under the banner of irreligion; becauſe religion condemns her manners; irreligion ſuffers, or approves them.

To

To confirm the truth of this reaſoning, we need only obſerve, that in the period of refined luxury, *few* but they who are involved in the *Vices*, are involved in the *Irreligion* of the times.

One exception, however, muſt be made, with regard to the *Writers* againſt religion. For *theſe*, though they *promote*, yet are not often *involved* in the common degeneracy. This fact hath been regarded as unaccountable: that *ſober* men of morals, apparently *unblameable*, ſhould madly unhinge the great principle of religion and ſociety, without any viſible motive or advantage. But by looking a little farther into human nature, we ſhall eaſily reſolve this ſeeming paradox. Theſe writers are generally men of ſpeculation and induſtry; and therefore though they give themſelves up to the dictates of their ruling paſſion, yet that ruling paſſion commonly leads to the tract of *abſtemious* manners. That deſire of *Diſtinction* and *Superiority*, ſo natural to man, breaks out in a thouſand various and fantaſtic ſhapes, and in each of theſe, according as it is directed, becomes a virtue or a vice. In times of luxury and diſſipation therefore, when every tenet of irreligion is greedily embraced, what road to *preſent Applauſe* can lie ſo open and ſecure, as that of diſgracing religious belief? Eſpecially if the writer help forward the vices of the times, by *relaxing Morals*, as well as *deſtroying Principles*. Such a writer can have little elſe to do, but to new model the paradoxes of ancient *Scepticiſm*, in order to *figure it* in the world, and be regarded by the ſmatterers in literature and adepts in folly, as a prodigy of parts and learning. Thus his *Vanity* becomes deeply criminal, and is execrated by the wiſe and good, becauſe it is gratified at the expence of his country's welfare. But the *Conſolation* which degenerate manners received from his fatal tenets, is repaid by eager *Praiſe*: And *Vice* impatiently drinks in and *applauds* his hoarſe and boding voice, while like a *Raven*, he ſits croaking univerſal death, deſpair, and annihilation to the human kind.

Thus, where manners and religion are oppoſed, nothing is ſo natural, as that the *one* ſhould bear down the

the *other*. If religion deſtroy not the ruling manners, *theſe* will gather ſtrength, and deſtroy religion.

Especially, in a country where freedom is eſtabliſhed, and manners loſt through the exorbitance of wealth, the duration of religious principles can be but ſhort. Deſpotiſm arms itſelf with terror, and by checking the open and avowed *Profeſſion*, checks in a certain degree the *Progreſs* of *Impiety*. Whereas it muſt be acknowledged and lamented, as one of the unalterable defects of a free government that *Opinion* muſt have its courſe. The diſeaſe is bad; but the cure would be fatal. Thus freedom is compelled to admit an *Enemy*, who under the pretence and form of an *Ally*, often proves her *Deſtroyer*.

Sect. IV.

Of the Effects of exorbitant Trade and Wealth on the Principle of Honour.

In the mixed ſtate, where luxury and effeminacy form the ruling character of a people, the exceſs of trade and wealth naturally tends to weaken or deſtroy the principle of *Honour*, by fixing the deſire of applauſe, and the fear of ſhame, on improper and ridiculous objects. Inſtead of the good of others, or the happineſs of the public, the object of purſuit naturally ſinks into ſome unmanly and trifling circumſtance: The vanity of dreſs, entertainments, equipage, furniture, of courſe takes poſſeſſion of the heart.

But in the pure commercial ſtate, where the love of gain predominates among the higher ranks, the deſire of applauſe and fear of ſhame are not *perverted*, but *extinguiſhed*. The luſt of gold ſwallows up every other paſſion: And a nation of this character can without emotion ſtand the laughter and contempt of *Europe*, and ſay with the miſer,

Populus me ſibilat; at mihi plaudo
Ipſe Domi, ſimulac Nummos contemplor in Arca.

In

In whatever ſhape, therefore, the paſſion for applauſe appear, whether it aſſume the fantaſtic form of vanity, the more ſolemn one of pride, or the ſteady and elevated deſire of rational eſteem; we ſhall find this exceſs of national avarice tends to its extinction. A great writer indeed hath told us, that "Vanity creates "induſtry *;" which is true: Notwithſtanding this, we have ſeen above, that induſtry in the exceſs naturally begets avarice; and avarice in the exceſs works a total change in the ſoul, and expels that vanity which gave it birth.

The ſame great writer hath told us, "that pride "deſtroys induſtry †;" the reverſe of which holds equally true: "that induſtry deſtroys pride:" We ſpeak here of pride in the blameable ſenſe, as when it riſeth into blind and overbearing *Inſolence*. Induſtry in the moderate degree tends to deſtroy this contemptuous ſpirit, by introducing knowledge and equality: And in this reſpect, as in moſt others, is attended with excellent effects.

But the ſpirit of trade in its exceſs, by introducing avarice, deſtroys the deſire of *rational Eſteem*. In confirmation of this, we need only caſt our eyes on the Hollanders and Chinese, among whom the trading ſpirit is almoſt in its unmixed perfection: The one is the moſt *mercenary*, the other the moſt *thieving* of all nations.

Sect. V.

Of their Effects on public Spirit.

This part of our ſubject needs little inveſtigation. For both in the commercial and mixed ſtate, it appears, that exorbitant trade and wealth tend naturally to turn all the attention of individuals on *ſelfiſh* gratification.

Therefore they muſt of courſe generally tend to deſtroy the principle of publick ſpirit: becauſe *this*

* L'Eſprit des Loix, l. xix. l. 9. † Ibid.

implies,

implies, that our attention and regard is turned on *others*.

In the commercial ſtate, avarice repreſents *Wealth*, in the mixed ſtate effeminacy repreſents *Pleaſure*, as the *chief Good*. Both theſe deluſions tend to the extinction of public ſpirit.

These deluſions create a new train of wants, fears, hopes, and wiſhes: All theſe terminating in ſelfiſh regard, naturally deſtroy every effort of generous and public principle.

Sect. VI.

Farther Remarks on this Subject.

In conſequence of theſe remarks, ſome farther diſtinctions will ariſe.

Thus, the religious principle will *ſeem* to exiſt in the commercial ſtate, where avarice forms the national character; while in the mixed ſtate where luxury and effeminacy predominate, it is evidently deſtroyed. The reaſon is, that in the firſt, although active principle is loſt, ſpeculative belief is not controverted: whereas, in the latter, not only active principle is loſt, but religion itſelf (if ſuch a ſtate be free) is publickly inſulted and derided. Thus in *Holland*, religion *ſeems* yet to exiſt; while in *England* it is evidently deſtroyed.

On the contrary, the principle of honour will ſeem to exiſt in the mixed ſtate, where luxurious effeminacy forms the primary character of the nation; while in the commercial ſtate, where avarice predominates, the principle is evidently no more. The reaſon is, that in the former, the love of applauſe and fear of ſhame are not wholly deſtroyed, but perverted, and turned upon unworthy objects; while in the latter, the paſſion itſelf is totally extinguiſhed. Thus the faint appearance of honour yet remains in *England*, while in *Holland* it is manifeſtly deſtroyed.

But as modern *Dutch* religion, and modern *Engliſh* honour, ſeem no more than the ghoſts of departed

principles, ſo they have preciſely thoſe effects, which may reaſonably be expected from ſuch ſhadowy non-entities.

AGAIN: The colours or characters of induſtry and avarice will naturally be *ſtrong* in the commercial ſtate: becauſe, being almoſt wholly unmixed with manners of a diſſimilar nature, the ruling genius of the ſtate is left uncontrouled, to its proper operations and effects.

BUT in the mixed ſtate, where induſtry and love of gain form the character of the *ſecondary* ranks; diſſipation and effeminacy, of the *higher*; there the two ſeparate characters, by the force of incidental coalition and example, will always influence each other in a certain degree. Some ambitious traders will aſpire to luxurious effeminacy: Some, of the higher orders, will deſcend to induſtry and merchandiſe. Thus each rank muſt be tinctured with a colour different from its own; and hence, the general colour or character of each of theſe ranks, will, in ſome meaſure be controuled and *weakened*.

THIS circumſtance is favourable to the mixed ſtate, beyond that which is purely commercial; as it checks in a certain degree the virulence of the exceſs; and produceth a national character in ſome meaſure approaching that of more moderate trade and wealth.

HENCE too it follows, that a ſtate purely commercial, when once arrived at the period of exorbitant wealth, will naturally degenerate *faſter* than that which is compounded of commerce and luxury. For whatever cauſes check the ruling manners in their *Degree*, will check them in their *Conſequences*.

BUT beyond this, there is another reaſon, why the ſtate purely commercial will degenerate faſter than the mixed ſtate. In the commercial ſtate, the ruling manners go hand in hand with the exorbitance of wealth; becauſe the love of gain, which forms the leading character, being likewiſe the leading motive, muſt be even prior to this exorbitance in the order of our ideas; and therefore, in its effects, muſt be at leaſt contemporary.

BUT in the mixed ſtate, there will always be a ſhort period between the national exorbitance of wealth, and the national increaſe of luxurious effeminacy: becauſe manners, once got into a certain track, are not at once thrown out of it. There muſt be a ſhort period, before the leading parts of the nation can *feel* their increaſe of wealth; and after this, another period, before new and more refined modes of pleaſure can be invented.

HENCE a neighbouring republic ſeems to have well nigh filled up the meaſure of its iniquities; while *ours*, as yet, are only riſing towards the *Brim*.

LASTLY; though the ruling manners of ſuch a mixed ſtate are luxurious and effeminate, yet its publick meaſures will be *commercial*. Firſt, becauſe commerce is the hand-maid of *Wealth*, and therefore of *Pleaſure*. Secondly, becauſe the idea of national ſtrength as well as happineſs, being degenerated into that of wealth and external good, commerce will above all things be naturally encouraged, becauſe it is the means of procuring them.

SECT. VII.

A Review of the Argument.

THUS our preſent exorbitant degree of trade and wealth, in a mixed ſtate like that of *England*, naturally tends to produce luxurious and effeminate manners in the higher ranks, together with a general defect of *Principle*. And as the internal ſtrength of a nation will always depend chiefly on the manners and principles of it's leading members, ſo theſe effeminate manners and this defect of principle operate powerfully, and fatally, on the national conduct and affairs. They have produced a general incapacity, have weakened the national ſpirit of defence, have heightened the national diſunion: And this national diſunion, beſides it's proper and immediate effects, being founded in avarice for the

ends of diſſipation, hath again weakened the ſmall remainder of publick capacity and defence; and thus ſeems to have fitted us for a prey to the inſults and invaſions of our moſt powerful enemy.

SECT. VIII.

An Objection conſidered.

THO' this eſtimate may appear *juſt* to thoſe who take an enlarged view of things in their principles and conſequences; yet I am not ignorant of certain maxims, generally approved, and hardly even diſputed among modern politicians, which if true, would weaken or overturn theſe accumulated proofs.

THE capital maxim, which ſeems to include the reſt, is this; "That vaſt trade and wealth, above all things "make a nation powerful and invincible, as they in- "creaſe it's numbers, enable it to pay it's fleets and "armies, provide continual ſupplies for war; and "thus, in the end tire out and defeat every enemy, "whoſe wealth and commerce are inferior."

THE examination of this maxim will throw many ſtrong collateral lights upon our main ſubject.

Firſt it affirms, "That trade and wealth make a na- "tion ſtrong, becauſe they make it populous." This indeed is true of the firſt and ſecond periods of trade and wealth: That it is true of the *third* or *higheſt* period, of which *England* is now poſſeſſed, may very reaſonably be queſtioned. In the firſt period, induſtry is chiefly employed in cultivating the lands, in encreaſing, manufacturing, and exchanging the produce of the mother country. Theſe branches of trade call for vaſt additional numbers of hands; and hence an increaſe of numbers naturally ariſeth.

THE ſame effect takes place in the ſecond period of trade; ſo far as home productions are *exchanged* for foreign ones. This ſtage of commerce brings on a freſh demand of artificers of new and various kinds,

produces

produces an increaſe of labour, and therefore of inhabitants.

But in the third or higheſt period of trade, of which *England* is now poſſeſſed, there are very extenſive branches of commerce, which brings no new acceſſion of numbers to the commonwealth. I mean, all thoſe branches of commerce, where *Money* is ſent and exchanged for *foreign* goods. This ſpecies of trade occaſions little increaſe of *Labour*, and therefore leſs of *Numbers*; except only of thoſe few who navigate the veſſels thus employed, to their reſpective ports. And as this kind of trade will always grow and predominate, in proportion as a nation becomes more luxurious and effeminate, ſo for this reaſon the higheſt ſtage of trade is not naturally attended with the higheſt increaſe of labour, nor conſequently of *Numbers*, as is commonly imagined. Beſides this, in the refined period, additional art and experience in labour prevent, in ſome meaſure, the increaſe of numbers. By the invention of machines, an equal degree both of tillage and trade is carried on by fewer hands, than in the ſimpler periods; and therefore the increaſe of numbers is by no means proportional to the increaſe of commerce and wealth.

But theſe are far from being the only conſiderations worth our notice on this ſubject. For when we ſpeak of any ſtage of trade, we muſt in reaſon take in *every* circumſtance which naturally attends it. There are other cauſes, therefore, why numbers increaſe not, but rather naturally *diminiſh*, in the higheſt period of trade and wealth.

For *firſt*, the vanity and effeminacy which this exorbitant pitch of wealth brings on, leſſens the deſire of marriage.

Secondly, the intemperance and diſeaſe which this period of trade naturally produceth among the *lower Ranks* in great cities, bring on in ſome degree an impotence of propagation.

Thirdly, This debility is always attended with a ſhortneſs of life, both in the parents and the offspring;

and therefore a ſtill farther diminution of numbers follows on the whole.

MATTER of fact confirms theſe reaſonings; and lies open to every man's obſervation. Since the firſt increaſe of tillage and home-manufactures, the increaſe of inhabitants hath been great in *England:* Since the vaſt increaſe of foreign commerce, the increaſe of numbers is hardly perceiveable. Nay, there is great reaſon to believe, that upon the whole, the nation is leſs populous than it was fifty years ago, tho' it's trade perhaps is doubled. Some trading towns indeed are better peopled, but others are thinned by the flux of commerce. The metropolis ſeems to augment in its dimenſions: But it appears, by the beſt calculations, that it's numbers are diminiſhed; and as to the villages thro' *England*, there is great reaſon to believe, they are in general at a ſtand, and many of them thinner of inhabitants than in the beginning of this century. 'Tis hard to obtain certainty in this particular, without a general examination and compariſon. But it appears by the regiſters of ſome *Country* pariſhes, which I have looked into, that from the year 1550 to 1710, the number of inhabitants increaſed gradually; the two extremes being to each other, as 57 to 72; and that from 1710 to the preſent time, the number has been at a ſtand, if not rather diminiſhed.

BUT ſuppoſe, what there is no reaſon to believe, that our preſent exceſs of trade and overflow of wealth have in ſome degree increaſed our *Numbers*, yet it will probably appear, that they have as much, at leaſt, impaired our *bodily Strength*. For as *Temperance* is the ruling character of the middle ſtage of commerce, ſo is *Intemperance* of the higheſt. Hence, health, and ſtrength prevail in the firſt; diſeaſe and debility in the latter. This is univerſally confirmed by fact: Villages abounding with health; commercial cities with diſeaſe. So that an army taken from the villages, with equal commanders, arms, and diſcipline, would drive the ſame number of debilitated gin-drinkers, like a flock of geeſe before them.

THE

THE author of the *Fable of the Bees* made his boaſt, that the wiſdom of the legiſlature had, upon his plan, adopted the encouragement of this pernicious liquid: But the ſame wiſdom hath upon trial been obliged to *diſcourage* the uſe of this malignant ſpirit; as they found that it ruined the health, and ſhortened the lives, of half the lower ranks in *London*.

AND all good men hope that the time will come, when this infernal potion will be laid under ſuch diſcouragements, as may amount to a general prohibition. The neceſſity of ſuch a reformation grows greater every day, not only in *London*, but throughout the kingdom. For in ſome villages in *England* there is now a greater quantity of gin conſumed than of ale.

BUT to quit theſe inferior conſiderations, tho' they all unite in confirming the theory here advanced; the weight of the reply lies indeed in another circumſtance: For altho' we ſhould admit (what is not true) that our preſent exorbitance of trade and wealth increaſed our numbers and bodily force, yet as the real and eſſential ſtrength of a nation conſiſts in the manners and principles of it's *leading Part*; and as our preſent exceſs of trade and wealth hath produced ſuch fatal effects on theſe manners and principles; no increaſe of numbers in the inferior ranks can poſſibly make amends for this internal and capital defect. Such a nation can, at beſt, only reſemble a large *Body*, actuated (yet hardly actuated) by an incapable, a vain, a daſtardly, and effeminate *Soul*.

BUT the maxim we are engaged to obviate, alledges farther, that "This exorbitant increaſe of trade and "wealth enables a nation to pay it's fleets and armies, "and afford continual ſupplies for war." Yet, even this part of the maxim, in it's modern acceptation, is far beyond the truth.

FOR under the preſent ſtage of trade, the increaſe of wealth is by no means equally or proportionally diffuſed: The trader reaps the main profit: after him, the landlord, in a lower degree: But the common artificer, and ſtill more the common labourer, gain little by the exorbitant advance of trade; It is true, their wages

are

are increaſed; but ſo are the prices of proviſions too: and therefore they are no richer than before. Now taxes and public ſupplies are raiſed upon the conſumer: and as it appears from hence, that only a few of the conſumers are made richer by the exorbitance of trade, it follows, that not the nation in general, but a ſelect number of individuals only, are made more capable of contributing to thoſe ſupplies, which are levied without diſtinction on the *whole*. Would they who reap the plenteous harveſt of foreign trade, generouſly allot their proportional and extraordinary gains to the ſervice of the public, we ſhould then indeed be furniſhed with a *new* argument in favour of commerce in it's higheſt pitch.

FARTHER: As the labouring ranks are little or nothing enriched by the exorbitant degree of trade, ſo it often happens that even the higher ranks, and the nation in general, are not *more*, nay perhaps *leſs* enabled to contribute to the public ſupplies, than when poſſeſſed of wealth in a more moderate degree. For we have ſeen, in the progreſs of this eſtimate, that the natural effect of an increaſe of wealth, is an increaſe of luxury, vanity, and expence; which, if it outrun the increaſe of wealth, as in it's nature it tends to do, inſtead of riches will bring on public poverty. For the ability or wealth of a people, conſidered in their capacity for raiſing ſupplies, conſiſts not in the largeneſs of their income, but in the proportion of their expences to their income: It conſiſts not in "what they *have*," but "what they can *Spare?*" Hence it appears, that a nation may be at once very *rich*, and very *poor*; rich in income, but poor thro' extravagance. And as national extravagance is the natural effect of an overflow of wealth, ſo national indigence is it's moſt natural and final conſequence. How far this is our preſent ſituation, can hardly be neceſſary to affirm.

To this argument it may poſſibly be objected, that if great wealth is but among us, new impoſts will naturally *force* it into circulation: That the more the artificers and labourers are taxed, the more their wages will increaſe, and conſequently their ability to bear the

increaſing

increaſing taxes: And that as to the higher ranks, exorbitant wealth *enables* them ſtill better to endure additional impoſts, becauſe theſe deprive the great of nothing but the ſuperfluities of vanity and luxury.

To this it is replied, that in caſe of additional taxes, tho' the poor *muſt* indeed increaſe their wages in order to ſubſiſt, yet this increaſe never takes place, till they are compelled by the laſt *Neceſſity* and *Want*: The natural conſequence of which muſt be murmurs, ſedition, and tumults. With regard to the higher ranks, a parallel reply may ſuffice: For in the refined period, when manners and principles are loſt, the luxuries of life become *Neceſſaries* among the great; and therefore will be as obſtinately adhered to, and quitted with the ſame reluctance, as food and cloathing by the *Poor*. The conſequence therefore muſt be the ſame; a general diſcontent and diſaffection to the government, among the higher ranks of life.

Is not all this confirmed by evident facts; there is at preſent in this nation a maſs of wealth at leaſt twelve times more than the publick debt: Yet we are reduced to the ſad neceſſity of plunging deeper every day. What is the reaſon? No miniſtry dares to provoke and exaſperate a luxurious and ſelfiſh nation, by demanding ſuch ſums, as every one has the *Power* had he but the *Will*, to beſtow.

But beyond all this, will any man of ſenſe aſſert, that the circumſtance of *paying* an army or a fleet, is the one thing that will decide a war? 'Tis true, indeed, proviſions, arms, ammunition are neceſſary; and therefore *Wealth*, becauſe it procures them. But will a general or admiral therefore gain the victory, only becauſe his men are furniſhed with proviſions, arms, and ammunition? If not, what can trade or weath do, towards making a nation victorious? Again, therefore, let me remind my countrymen, that the capital queſtion ſtill remains, not, "who ſhall *pay*," but, "who ſhall "*fight*?"

There is a trite obſervation on foot, indeed, drawn from the beſt political writers, ill underſtood, that "the "principles of war are wholly changed; and that not

"the

" the nation who has the beſt *Troops*, but the longeſt " *Purſe*, will in the end obtain the victory." This, in the modern application of it, is a moſt dangerous maxim. It naturally tends to extinguiſh military ſkill, as well as honour: And will inevitably ſink the people that maintains it, into a nation of defenceleſs and money-getting cowards.

It muſt be confeſſed that doctor Davenant, the moſt able writer on theſe ſubjects, hath affirmed, " That now, the whole art of war is in a manner re-" duced to money; and now-a-days, that prince who " can beſt find money to feed, cloath, and pay his ar-" my, not he that hath the moſt valiant troops, is " ſureſt of ſucceſs and conqueſt *." This declaration, which is now ſtolen and retailed for new, by every modern dabler in politics, has had the uſual fortune of theſe kind of theſts, to be miſunderſtood: as may appear from the general tenor of the doctor's writings. To ſhew this, two inſtances, out of many may ſuffice. Even when ſpeaking on the benefits of foreign trade, he warns us, as if he had foreſeen all that has befallen, or is likely to befall us. For he ſays, " If a trading " and rich people are grown ſoft and luxurious, their " wealth will invite over to them invaders from abroad, " and their being *effeminate* will make the conqueſt " eaſy †." And again, in terms yet ſtronger: " In " ſucceeding times our manners may come to be de-" praved; and when this happens, all ſorts of miſeries " will invade us: The whole wealth of the kingdom " will not be ſufficient for it's defence §."

Thus, what he and other ſenſible writers have affirmed under proper reſtrictions, and upon ſuppoſition that a nation maintained it's manners and principles, is now advanced abſolutely, and without reſtriction, as if manners and principles, military and naval ſkill and courage, had no part, or at leaſt no eſſential part, in the ſucceſs of war.

These ſhallow politicians, therefore, might well be put in mind of the maxim of a warlike prince, when

* Ways and means, p. 27. † Dav. on trade, v. ii. p. 13. § Ibid. p. 317.

his

his miniſters diſſuaded him from attacking a wealthy enemy, becauſe he wanted money to pay his troops; "My enemies, ſaid he, are rich, luxurious, and effe- "minate; my troops are valiant and hardy; my offi- "cers brave and honourable; they ſhall plant *my* "ſtandard in my enemy's country, and then *my Ene-* "*my ſhall pay them.*"

We have lately ſeen this military conduct followed by a brave king, in the electorate of *Saxony:* We ourſelves have formerly purſued it on the plains of *Agincourt* and *Creſſi:* The *French* are now purſuing it on the plains of *America:* And if we hold to our daſtardly maxim, they will purſue it on the plains of *Salisbury.*

Thus the boaſted modern maxim which we propoſed to obviate, ſeems void of truth in every branch of it: As it appears from this view, that without the internal ſtrength which manners and principles produce, the moſt exorbitant trade and wealth can never be the foundation of a ſucceſsful war; or give us any rational proſpect, either of *Victory* or *Self-Defence.*

Sect. IX.

Another Objection conſidered.

Such then are the natural effects of exorbitant trade and wealth, unleſs counteracted by oppoſite manners or principles. The hiſtory of our own nation would confirm theſe truths in a moſt ſtriking and particular manner, were it within the propoſed limits of this eſtimate, to enter ſo large a field of enquiry. We ſhould there ſee, that manners and principles have always prevailed, and baffled the moſt ſanguine attempts of wealth, when ſet in competition with them. This ſyſtem would be found ſupported by a vaſt variety of events, from the reign of *Elizabeth* to the preſent times. But this might perhaps be regarded as a reſearch rather curious than neceſſary; ſince a ſingle reflection on the preſent ſtate of the kingdom may ſeem to ſtand in the place of a thouſand proofs.

At

AT preſent, therefore, we ſhall not touch on this enquiry; but rather proceed to remove another objection, which may ſeem to overturn the theory here propoſed.

FOR it is urged, that *France* is an exception to the truth of theſe remarks: inaſmuch as, in the midſt of a large and extenſive commerce, which brings in a vaſt acceſſion of wealth, ſhe ſtill retains her principles and power.

THE fact objected is true: But the conſequence follows not; becauſe the trade of *France* is limited and controuled by ſuch accidents, as prevent it's moſt dangerous and ruinous effects on government.

THE *Poverty* of its *Nobleſſe* or leading ranks, who are often poſſeſſed of ſounding titles without any realities annexed, as it prevents them from reaping that increaſe of wealth which naturally ariſeth to a rich landed gentry from an increaſe of commerce, ſo it naturally drives them to the profeſſion of *Arms*, as the neceſſary means of ſupport: This ſtrengthens and ſupports their monarchy; which, finding it's advantage from this diſpoſition to arms, naturally gratifies this military ſpirit in it's *Nobleſſe*, and gives it exerciſe and encouragement by frequent wars.

HENCE the national ſpirit of the *French Nobleſſe* hath long been military, in the higheſt degree.

WITH regard to commerce, it's growth in *France* hath been but late: Meeting therefore with this eſtabliſhed ſpirit of arms in the leading ranks, it hath not as yet been able to controul it. Commerce indeed is encouraged; but ſo encouraged, as not to deſtroy the leading principle of their monarchy. To this end, the ranks of the kingdom are kept eſſentially diſtinguiſhed; and while the people are allured to trade by every kind of motive, the *Nobleſſe* or gentry are, in honour, prohibited from commerce. It was indeed formerly propoſed in *France*, that the *Nobleſſe* ſhould be drawn down to trade. But, whether thro' deep and conſummate policy, or thro' the principle of honour itſelf, working blindly for it's own preſervation, the dangerous propoſal was *weakly* or *wiſely* rejected. Whenever

ever this overture meets with acceptance and ſucceſs, tho' it may ſeem for a while to give vigour to their ſtate, yet from that period we may date the downfall of *France*. Their effeminate manners, now controuled by *Oeconomy* and the love of *Glory*, will, like ours, degenerate into *Profuſion* and the love of *Gold*.

On the contrary; trade, tho' encouraged, is by the ruling principles of this great monarchy, kept within it's proper limits; and while the merchant traverſeth ſeas in purſuit of *Gain*, the gentleman does the ſame in purſuit of *Glory*. Thus the two incompatible provinces are kept diſtinct; and hence, while the *French* vie with us in *Trade*, they tower above us in *Principle*.

Nay their very trading ſettlements among foreign nations are actuated by this ruling principle in ſuch a manner, as to give a ſplendor to their monarchy and commerce in the moſt barbarous climates *. Thus, while *we* are poorly influenced by a ſorry and mercantile maxim, firſt broached by a trading miniſter, "that "the *Intereſt* of a nation is it's *trueſt* honour;" the *French* conduct themſelves on an oppoſite and higher principle, "that the *Honour* of a nation is its trueſt "intereſt."

In confirmation of what is here advanced, we need only caſt our eyes on the fortune and fate of *France*, during the preſent century. In the laſt war, ſhe was exhauſted, tho' victorious: In the former, ſhe

* Numerous proofs might be given of this: At preſent it may ſuffice to take one from a very fine book lately publiſhed. "It is uſual among the French of Alexandria to ſhew "an extreme reſpect for their conſul. In order to make him "more conſiderable in the eyes of the Turks, and of the "other nations, they endeavour to give an high idea of his perſon, and to illuſtrate his birth in ſuch a manner, that it is not "their fault, if he is not conſidered as iſſued from the blood "royal. If firſt by chance he take a tour to Rosetta, he "carries a white flag at the maſt of his pinnace; and when he "goes out of the port, as likewiſe when he returns into it, he "is ſaluted by a general diſcharge of the cannon of the French "veſſels." Norden's travels in Egypt and Nubia, Vol. i. p. 29.

was both beaten and exhauſted: In both theſe inſtances, it was weakly thought by every ſuperficial politician in *England*, that becauſe we had exhauſted the men and money, we had deſtroyed the power of *France*. Experience hath told us the reverſe: The ſpirit of honour and union working at the root, ſoon reſtored thoſe branches that war had ſwept away, and have at length ſhot them into their former vigour and luxuriancy.

HENCE then, we may learn an important truth: "That no incidental events can make a nation *little*, "while the principles remain that made it *great*."

SECT. X.

The Concluſion.

FROM theſe accumulated proofs, then it ſeems evident, that our preſent effeminate manners and defect of principle have ariſen from our exorbitant trade and wealth, left without check, to their natural operations and uncontrouled influence. And that theſe manners, and this defect of principle, by weakening or deſtroying the national capacity, ſpirit of defence, and union, have produced ſuch a general debility as naturally leads to deſtruction.

WE might now proceed to confirm theſe reaſonings, by examples drawn from hiſtory. For there is hardly an ancient or modern ſtate of any note recorded in ſtory, which would not in one reſpect or other, confirm the leading principles on which this argument is built.

IN theſe, throughout their ſeveral periods, we ſhould ſee *Trade* and *Wealth*, or (what is in this reſpect equivalent) *Conqueſt* and *Opulence*, taking their progreſs: At one period, poliſhing and ſtrengthening; at another, refining, corrupting, weakening, deſtroying, the ſtate that gave them entrance: Working indeed in different ways, and under a variety of appearances; by avarice, by faction, by effeminacy, by profligacy; by a mixture

a mixture and combination of all theſe evils: ſometimes dividing a nation againſt itſelf; at others, quelling it's ſpirit, and leaving it an eaſy prey to the firſt invader: Sometimes checked by a riſing patriot, or counterworked by national misfortunes: In one country corrupting manners; in another, principles; in a third, both manners and principles: rendering one people blind, another cowardly, another treacherous to itſelf: Stealing ſecretly and inſenſibly on one nation; overwhelming another in ſudden deſtruction.

But to enlarge on theſe ſubjects in that vague and undiſtinguiſhing manner, which moſt writers have purſued in treating them, tho' it might carry the *Appearance* of reaſoning, would in truth be no more than *Declamation* in diſguiſe. And to develope and unravel the particularity of cauſes and effects, thro' all their variety of combination and mutual influence, as it would extend this eſtimate beyond it's deſigned limits, muſt be left to make a part of ſome future enquiry.

The *Character*, *Effects*, and *Sources* of our manners and principles, being thus laid open, the writer had it in his thoughts to have proceeded to the conſideration of "*their moſt practicable Remedies.*" But as the cloſet-*projects* of retired and ſpeculative men, often *are*, and always are *regarded*, as *chimerical*; he was therefore unwilling, at preſent, to hazard the diſcredit of ſuch an attempt.

However, leſt his attempt ſhould be deemed more viſionary than perhaps it is, he judged it not improper to hint at ſome of the leading principles on which it is built. And with this view, the following reflections are ſubmitted to the conſideration of the public.

The world has been long amuſed with a trite and hacknied compariſon between the life of man, and that of ſtates; in which it is pretended that they both proceed in the ſame irrevocable manner; from infancy to maturity, from maturity to death: A compariſon, perhaps as groundleſs as it is common. The human body contains, in its very texture, the ſeeds of certain diſſolution. That is, tho' you ſet aſide all the poſſible accidents ariſing from intemperance, from the influence

of the elements, the climate, and every other external and contingent cauſe, the human frame itſelf, after a certain period, would grow into rigidity; the fluids would decreaſe, the ſolids accumulate, the arteries *oſſify*, the blood ſtagnate, and the wheels of life ſtand ſtill.

But in ſocieties, of whatever kind, there ſeems no ſuch neceſſary or eſſential tendency to diſſolution. The human body is *naturally* mortal; the political, only ſo by *Accident:* Internal diſorders or diſeaſes may ariſe; external violence may attack or overpower: but theſe cauſes, tho' always to be expected, are wholly incidental: the firſt is preciſely of the ſame nature as intemperance, the ſecond as the influence of the external elements, on the human body. But there appears nothing in the internal conſtruction of any ſtate, that tends inevitably to diſſolution, analogous to thoſe cauſes in the human frame, which lead to certain death.

This obſervation ſeems confirmed by hiſtory: Where you ſee ſtates, which, after being ſunk in corruption and debility, have been brought back to the vigour of their firſt principles: But you muſt have recourſe to fables, for medicated old age, reſtored to infancy or youth.

If this be true, it ſeems not altogether chimerical, tho' confeſſedly difficult, to bring about the reformation of a ſtate. To lay down general rules, in ſuch a caſe, would be like giving a *Panacea*; the very *Empiriciſm* of politics. The remedies muſt be ſuited to the diſeaſe.

We have ſeen, that the ruling evils of our age and nation have ariſen from the unheeded conſequences of our trade and wealth. That theſe have produced effeminate manners, and occaſioned loſs of principle: That theſe have brought on a national debility. But would the leſſening this exorbitant trade and wealth bring back manners and principles, and reſtore the nation's ſtrength? — I very much queſtion the event.

But whatever the conſequences might be at *Home*, thoſe *Abroad* would certainly be fatal. The *French* are every day gaining upon us in commerce; and if ours

ours ſhould leſſen, theirs would increaſe to our deſtruction.

THUS are we fallen into a kind of dilemma: If our commerce be maintained or increaſed, it's effects bid fair to deſtroy us: If commerce be diſcouraged and leſſened, the growing power of our enemy threatens the ſame conſequence.

THERE ſeems, then, no other expedient than this, "That commerce and wealth be not diſcouraged in "their *Growth*; but checked and *controuled in their* "*Effects*."

AND even in attempting this, care muſt be had, leſt in controuling the effects of commerce, we ſhould deſtroy commerce itſelf.

WE ſee how ſtrongly the natural effects of trade and wealth are controuled in *France*, by proper checks and counteracting principles: Yet mere imitation is always narrow, and often an ineffectual ſcheme. Beſides, as our conſtitution is of a ſuperior nature, ſo our manners and principles muſt be adapted to it, ere it can obtain it's proper ſtrength.

THE virtues yet left among us, and enumerated above *, may be a poſſible foundation for ſuch a change.

THERE are two different kinds of remedies, which might in due time be applied. The firſt are radical, general, and laſting: The latter, palliative, particular, and temporary.

THE firſt ſeem totally impracticable at *preſent*: For as they ſuppoſe a change of manners and principles, this may juſtly be regarded as an impoſſible event, during the preſent age; and rather to be wiſhed than hoped for, in the next.

THE palliative, particular, and temporary remedies, may ſeem more practicable at this juncture. I mean, thoſe which are of the coercive kind; which work by oppoſed paſſions, or by deſtroying the opportunities or occaſions of evil. Where the ruling miſchiefs lie among the people, theſe remedies, with proper care, may eaſily be adminiſtered. Thus we have lately ſeen

* See Part I. Sect. 2, 3, 4.

the

the ſalutary effects of a new kind of police, eſtabliſhed by a uſeful magiſtrate in the city of *London*; by which, the reigning evil of *Street Robberies* hath been almoſt wholly ſuppreſſed; altho' we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, the diſpoſition towards them remains as ſtrong as ever.

BUT where the ruling miſchief deſolates the great, there, even the palliative remedies cannot eaſily be applied: The reaſon is manifeſt: A coercive power is wanting: They who ſhould cure the evil are the very delinquents: And moral or political phyſic is what no diſtempered mind will ever adminiſter to itſelf.

NECESSITY therefore, and *Neceſſity alone*, muſt in ſuch a caſe be the parent of reformation. So long as degenerate and unprincipled manners can ſupport themſelves, they will be deaf to reaſon, blind to conſequences, and obſtinate in the *long* eſtabliſhed purſuit of *Gain* and *Pleaſure*. In ſuch minds, the idea of a public has no place: and therefore can never be a curb to private gratification: Nor can ſuch minds be ever awakened from their fatal dream, till either the voice of an abuſed people rouſe them into fear; or the ſtate itſelf totter, thro' the general incapacity, cowardice, and diſunion of thoſe who ſhould ſupport it.

WHENEVER this compelling power, *Neceſſity*, ſhall appear; then, and not till then, may we hope that our deliverance is at hand. Effeminacy, rapacity, and faction, will then be ready to reſign the reins they would now uſurp: One common danger will create one common intereſt: Virtue may riſe on the ruins of corruption; and a deſpairing nation yet be ſaved, by the wiſdom, the integrity, and unſhaken courage, of SOME GREAT MINISTER.

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